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INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE EARLY GREEKS

By Dr. B. C. LAW, M.A., L.L.B., PH.D., D. LITT.
HONY F.R.A.S. (LONDON)

I have already made a close study of the historical and geographical materials concerning India from early Greek sources in my article entitled *Studies in Indian History and Geography based on early Greek writings* published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute* (Vol. XVI, pts 3-4). Here I have discussed many other topics relating to India as far as I have gathered from the writings of the early Greeks.

Indian people

The Indians, says Arrian, were slender and tall and of much lighter weight than other men[1]. According to Diodorus they were eminently tall and massive[2]. Herodotus says that there may be many nations of the Indians, diverse one from the other in tongue; some of them are moving tribes; some are settled and some dwell in the swamps of the river and live on raw fish caught from the boats of the reed (iii. 98). The hill tribes of the Kabul valley were the most warlike.[3] Onesicritus says that the Indians of Sind sometimes reached 130 years.[4] Generally

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 226; *Indika*, 17; "Lightly built to a degree far beyond any other people."

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 407; Frag. II, 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 396.

[4] Frag. 20; Strabo, XV, c. 701.

the maximum length of life of an Indian according to Megasthenes was 40 years.[5] The Indians used to live on grains and were tillers of the soil. The hillmen used to eat the flesh of the beasts of chase.[6] Between the Indians and Ethiopians there was no great difference in the type of figure, though the Indians living in the south-west bore a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians having black complexion and black hair. The Indians living further to the north were in person similar to the Egyptians as pointed out by Arrian.[7] Arrian further says that the Indians considered the virtues displayed by men in life and the songs in which their praises were recorded, sufficient to preserve their memory after death.[8]

The Indians lived frugally especially when in camp. They observed good order. Theft was rare. Their principal food was pulpy rice and curry. They never drank wine except at sacrifices. Rice-beer was generally drunk. They had no fixed time for common meals.[9] They had no written laws. Nearchus (Frag. 7) says that the laws were preserved by oral tradition and not in books. They seldom used to go to law courts. They had no suits about pledges or deposits. Onesicritus says that no legal action could be taken except murder and assault in Sindh. They generally left their houses unguarded. They had good and sober sense.[10] They were believed by the Greeks to be singularly free from diseases and long-lived.[11]

India was a land where nothing was impossible, a land of nightmare monsters and strange poisons, and of gold and gems. The people were very just according to

[5] Megasthenes, Frag. 23 ; Arrian, *Indica*, 9.

[6] *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 227.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 204. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

[9] Megasthenes, Frag. 27; Strabo XV. c. 709.

[10] *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, pp. 68-69.

[11] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 407.

Ktesias.[12] According to Megasthenes noble simplicity was the predominant characteristic of the Indians.[13] It is interesting to note that the Indian system of gymnastic exercise differed from that of the Greeks. It consisted principally of massage and the Indians used smooth rollers of ebony for shaping their bodies.[14]

Alexander's companions did not make an attempt to give any precise statement of the dimensions of India. Onesicritus declared that it was a third of the habitable earth.[15] Arrian stated the dimension of India on the authority of the great geographer Eratosthenes of Kyrene (born 276 B.C.). If a line be drawn from the mount Tauros, where the Indus had its springs along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India would measure 13,000 stadia.[16] But the countryside, which diverged from the same point of the Tauros and ran along the eastern sea, he made of a much different length, for there was a headland projecting far out into the sea. This headland was about 3,000 stadia in length. The eastern side of India would measure 16,000 stadia according to his calculation. The length from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra was 10,000 stadia.[17] According to Megasthenes and Deimachos the distance from the southern sea to the Kaukasos was over 20,000 stadia.[18] Ktesias of Knidos says that India is not of less size than the

Dimension of India.

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12 *Ibid.*, p. 397.

13 Frag. 27; Strabo, XV. c. 709.

14 *Ibid.*, 27.

15 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 400.

16 A Greek measure of length, 600 Greek ft. = 625 Roman ft. or $606\frac{3}{4}$ English ft.

17 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 189.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

rest of Asia.[19] Eratosthenes followed by Strabo accepted the 16,000 stades of Megasthenes as the extent of India from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges.[20] India was represented by a quadrilateral whose south side was 3000 stades longer than the northern and the eastern 3000 stades longer than the western.[21] According to Strabo the shape of India was rhomboidal.[22] It is interesting to know that the Iranian plateau, on the contrary, is a triangle set between two depressions, the Persian gulf in the south and the Caspian sea in the north. The triangle is bounded by mountains rising round a central depression, a desert region formed by the bed of a dried up sea.[23]

Boundary, shape, etc.

India proper included the countries which lay to the east of the Indus and the people who inhabited them were known as the Indians. The northern boundary of India was formed by the mount Tauros. The mount Tauros began from the sea which washed the coasts of Pamphylia, Lykia and Kilikia and stretched towards the eastern sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bore different names in the different countries which it traversed.[24] In one place it

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[19] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 40. It is interesting to note that the entire area of Persia was probably not less than two millions square miles or more than half of that of modern Europe. It was at least eight times as large as the Babylonian empire, and was probably more than four times as large as the Assyrian. Persia proper seems to have corresponded nearly to that province of modern Iran which bears the ancient name slightly modified being called Farsistan or Fars. It is a comparatively narrow and poor tract extending in its greatest length some seven or eight degrees (less than 500 miles); the dominions of the Persian kings covered a space 56 degrees long and in places more than 20 degrees wide (Rawlinson, *The five great monarchies of the ancient eastern world*, Vol. III, pp. 84-85).

[20] CHI., I, p. 402. [21] Strabo, XV. c. 689; *CHI.*, I, p. 402.

[22] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 47.

[23] R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 21.

[24] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*. p. 186.

was called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in a third Imaos.[25] The Macedonians, who served with Alexander, called it Kaukasos, this being another Kaukasos and distinct from the Skythian.[26]

Megasthenes says that India, which was quadrilateral in shape, was bounded by the great sea on the east and on the west but on the northern side it was divided by the Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which was inhabited by those Skythians who were called the Sakai, while the western side was bounded by the River Indus which was perhaps the largest of all rivers of the world after the Nile. The extent of the whole country from the east to the west is said to be 28,000 stadia and from north to south 32,000.

The boundaries of India on the west were marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it poured its water by two mouths. These two mouths were not close to each other. They were like the five mouths of the Ister (Danube). The Indus made an Indian

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[25] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 186-87. Ptolemy points out that the Imaos (Sk. Himācala) or the Himalayan mountain is the source of the Ganges and the Indus as well as the Koa (Vedic Kubhā, modern Kabul river) and the Swat rivers (Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 16). The Parapamisos was also called Paropamisos, Paropanisos. It is central Hindukush. The Paropanisadai inhabited the regions lying south of the mountain range called Paropanises now known as central Hindukush (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, p. 34). The Sanskrit name is *Upariśyena* meaning higher than eagles can fly (*Ibid.*, Notes, p. 341). The Hindukush mountain, which was known as the Malyavat mountain to the early geographers starts from the Northwestern extremity of the Himalayas and extends southwards, first dividing India from Afghanistan and then through northeastern Afghanistan. The height of this mountain varies between 14,000 and 18,000 ft. in the eastern section, above which rise several giant peaks to an altitude of 25,000 ft. The Karakoram range known as the Kṛṣṇagiri to the ancient geographers is continuous with the Hindukush on the west (Law, *Mountains of India*, p. 7).

[26] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 187 ; Vide McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, p. 311. Ptolemy identifies the Kaukasos with the Hindukush.

delta which was not inferior in area to the Egyptian. It was called Pattala.[27] On the southwest and on the south India was bounded by the great ocean, which formed also its boundary on the east. The parts towards the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis[28] (Pliny's Hypasis, Hypanis and Bibasis of other classical writers, Sk. *Vipāśā*). According to Eratosthenes and Megasthenes India formed the largest of the four parts into which southern Asia was divided. Megasthenes further says that the considerable portion of India consisted of a level plain and this was formed by the alluvial deposits of the river.[29]

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[27] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 187. Pattala or Patalene is to be identified with the Indus delta (Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 348). V. A. Smith holds a different view. He says that Patala was at or near the ancient site of Bāhmanābād, some six miles westward from the city of Mansūriya (*Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 107). The insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river Indus towards its mouth is Patalene and the region above this is Abiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and the gulf of Kaccha or Kanthi is Syrastrene. In his Indo-Skythia Ptolemy includes Patalene, Abiria and Syrastrene. Patalene is so called from its capital Patala. This delta at the mouth of the Indus was not quite so large as the Egyptian delta. Patalene (Sanskrit *Praśthala*) came under the rule of the Bactrian Greeks long after Alexander's invasion. Later it came to the hands of the Saka or Indo-Scythian rulers from the clutches of the Indo-Greek rulers. About the middle of the 2nd Century A. D. the geographer Ptolemy points out that Patalene (Indus delta) was one of the principal Indo-Scythian possessions (Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-53; *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 354) Really speaking before its conquest by the Skythians it was subject to the Graeco-Bactrian kings (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 139). According to Strabo (Bk. XI, sec. XI, I, in Falconer's version) the Bactrian conquests were achieved partly by Menander in the 2nd century B. C. and partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians (c. 190 B. C.). They gained possession not only of Patalene but also of the kingdom of Saraostos and Sigerdes (probably Sāgaradīpa of the *Mahābhārata*, II, 31, 66). Ptolemy's Syrastrene must be identical with Surāstra (modern Sorath in Kathiawar) on the gulf of Kanthi (Kaccha, Cutch). Syrastrene is also mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as the sea-board of Abiria or Ābhīra.

[28] McCrinde, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 188.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 43.

India was bounded on its eastern side, right onwards to its south by the great ocean. Its northern frontier was formed by the Kaukasos range as far as the junction of that range with the Tauros. The west and north-west boundary as far as the great ocean was formed by the Indus (Book I., Frag II), According to Strabo, India was bounded on the north by the extremities of the Tauros, and from Ariana to the Eastern sea, by the mountains variously called by the people as Parapamisos, Hemodos and Himaos, but by the Macedonians, Kaukasos.[30]

Megasthenes further says that India had many big mountains abounding in fruit trees of various kind and many vast plains of great fertility, more or less beautiful but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. According to him famine never visited India and there had never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.[31]

India is a civilised country. From very early times she has been the torch-bearer of culture and a progenitor of languages, arts and crafts. Distinct traces of cultural affinity between India and Iran, particularly northern Khurasan, are found in very ancient archaeological remains.

According to Megasthenes all towns which existed near the river or sea were made of wood. The towns built of brick would never hold out for any length of time with the rains and the rivers, which arose above their banks and spread a sheet of water over the plains. The towns built on the elevated places were made of brick and clay (Frag. 26). Megasthenes described the palace of Candragupta Maurya no less sumptuous and magnificent than the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana.[32]

Towns

[30] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 45-47.

[31] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

[32] *Cambridge History of India*, p. 411.

Megasthenes spoke of the fertility of India. The soil in India produced two crops every year both of fruits and grains. If one of the sowings be more or less abortive, the Indians were always sure of the other crop. There was a double rainfall in the course of each year, one in winter when the sowing of wheat takes place, and another in summer for sowing rice, sesamum, and millet.[33] Millet was found cultivated throughout India in addition to cereal. It was kept well-watered by the profusion of river streams. Rice and pulse of different sorts were also cultivated.[34] The Greeks knew that the rice and millet were sown in the summer and wheat and barley in the winter.

Indian soil

As already pointed out the staple food of the Indians was pulpy rice. They took boiled rice, boiled after the manner of the Greek gruel. They had no fixed time for common meal.[35]

It is generally believed in Iraṇ that while rice was first cultivated in India, Iran can claim to have given wheat and barley and its main contributions to the sustenance of man.[36] According to Eratosthenes much fruit was produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, were sweet both by nature and by coction.[37] Aristobulus described the cultivation of rice in enclosed sheets of water.[38] Among the plants two may be noticed. One was sugarcane, the reeds that make honey without the agency of bees, and the other was cotton plant yielding vegetable wool.[39]

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33 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 31. 34 *Ibid.*, p. 30

35 Megasthenes Frag. 27; Strabo,XV. c. 709.

36 Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, p. 51.

37 Mc Crindle, *Ancient India* p. 53

38 *Cambridge, History of India*, I, p. 404; Aristobulus Frag. 29; Strabo, XV. c. 692.

39 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 404,

According to Arrian's *Indica* the Indian people were divided into seven castes.[40] Really speaking they were divided into seven classes or 'tribes'. They had nothing to do with the four regular castes of Hinduism. Among them the sophists held the supreme place of dignity and honour.[41] According to Nearchus the Indian sophists were divided into Brahmins who followed the King as councillor, and the men who studied nature.[42] They were not required to do any bodily labour or to contribute anything from the produce of their labour to the common stock. No duty was absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If anybody had any private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists showed him the proper way to do it. The knowledge of divination was exclusively restricted to the sophists. In ancient Babylonia the priests interpreted divine will and as such their position secured influence. The priests as a class stood high in social position. They were feared and respected by the people.[43] The sophists used to predict about the seasons of the year and any calamity that might befall the state. They did not care to predict the fortune of any private individual. If anyone failed thrice to predict correctly, he incurred no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future. These sages went about naked living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat was very great, they used to live on meadows and low grounds under large trees. They lived on the seasonal fruit and

Seven castes of Arrian:

1. Sophists

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[40] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 214 ff.

[41] Cf. What Megasthenes said in his *Ancient India* (p. 38) about philosopher who, according to him, formed the first caste.

[42] Frag. 7; Strabo XV. c. 716; *CHI.*, I, p. 411.

[43] Rawlinson, *Five Great monarchies of ancient eastern world*, III, p. 14.

on the bark of trees. The bark was no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.[44]

At the time of the rise of Buddhism sophists spent eight or nine months every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging themselves in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature lore, and mysticism. Like the sophists among the Greeks they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty.[45]

The second caste consisted of the tillers of the soil, who formed the majority of people. Megasthenes says

2. Tillers of the soil

that husbandmen forming the second caste appear to be far more numerous than others.[46] They were not furnished with arms; they had no military duties to perform, but they used to cultivate the soil and pay taxes to the king or to the free cities.[47] In times of civil wars the soldiers were not allowed to molest the husbandmen or plunder their lands. When the soldiers were engaged in fighting and killing each other, the husbandmen were seen pursuing their work. They were perhaps ploughing or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees or reaping the harvest.[48]

Among the Vedic Aryans the land was cultivated. The bull was used in drawing plough. The seed was sown and the corn was threshed and winnowed. During the early Vedic period there was hardly any cultivation except that of wheat and barley. In the Vedic period there was cultivation of cotton.[49] The *Atharvaveda* (II. 4.5) as

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[44] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, pp. 214-16.

[45] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 141.

[46] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 39.

[47] *CHI.*, I, p. 410.

[48] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, 216.

[49] *Āśvalyāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, VI, 4, 17.

well as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2.1; I. 6. 1. 24) refer to the cultivation of hemp. In the pre-Buddhistic period people were mainly engaged in tilling the soil and keeping herds of cattle, tending their flocks on pasture grounds, and husking the corns. There had been much improvement in the process of cultivation since the early Rigvedic age. Manure was used for enhancing the fertility of the soil. The primitive plough was replaced by a larger one. The Buddhist *Jātakas* also refer to the tillers of the soil.[50] The fields were cultivated by means of ploughs driven by oxen.[51] Soil was turned with spades and watered by means of conduits.[52] The common occupation of the villagers was agriculture or farming. Due care was taken to protect the fields from dangers. Fences were erected as protection against wild animals. The land was properly irrigated. Watchmen were employed to keep watch on the land.[53]

3. Herdsmen, shepherds and neatherds

Herdsmen, shepherds and neatherds, forming the third caste among Indians, were nomadic and they used to live on hills as pointed out by Arrian. According to Megasthenes they neither settled in towns nor in villages but they lived in tents.[54] By hunting and trapping they cleared the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. They made India free from all sorts of wild beasts and birds, which devoured seeds sown by the cultivators. Arrian says that they paid their tribute in cattle. They roamed about in the country in pursuit of fowls and wild beasts.[55]

The fourth caste consisted of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers. They had to perform gratuitously some

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[50] *Jātaka*, II, p. 165; *Ibid.*, III, p. 162; IV, p. 176.

[51] *Ibid.*, II, 165.

[52] Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, 181-82.

[53] *Jātaka* 1, 143; II, p. 110; IV, p. 167.

[54] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 40. [55] *Ibid*, p. 216.

4. Handicraftsmen, retail-dealers, ship-builders and sailors

public services and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception was made in favour of those who fabricated the weapons of war, and of those who drew salary from the state. Ship-builders and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers, were included in this class.[56]

According to Megasthenes the artisans were exempted from paying taxes and they received maintenance from the royal exchequer.[57] The class of traders, artisans, and boatmen paid a tax on the produce of their industry excepting those who manufactured implements of war and built ships. (*CHI*. I. 410).

As early as the 6th century B. C. there were hereditary craftsmen, such as architects, mechanics, carpenters, smiths, masons, dyers, ivory workers, weavers, carriage-builders, leather-workers, potters, jewellers, fishermen and butchers who organised themselves into various guilds to be governed by their own rules. Several crafts were taught, e.g., poison-craft, scorpion-craft, mouse-craft, bird-craft, and crow-craft.[58]

The warriors forming the fifth caste were numerically second and they led a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They formed the class of the fighters. Megasthenes says that they were well organised and equipped for war.[59] They had to perform military duties only. They were soldiers. Some made their arms and others supplied them with horses. They had others to attend on them in their camp, who took care of their horses, cleaned their arms, drove their elephants,

5. Warriors

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[56] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 216-17.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[58] B. C. Law, Professions and occupations in Buddha's time published in the *Centenary Volume* (1845—1945) *of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. I, 39.

[59] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 40.

prepared their chariots, and acted as their charioteers. They fought as long as they were required to do so, and they enjoyed their salary even in times of peace. The pay which they received from the state was so very liberal that they could easily maintain themselves and others.[60] The entire force consisting of war horses, war elephants, and men-at-arms was maintained at the king's expense.[61] The Indians serving in the army of Xerxes wore garments made from trees (i.e., cotton) and carried bows of reed and arrows of reed with iron heads. Some fought on foot and some in chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.[62]

It may be pointed out that in Buddha's time the Kṣatriyas were the excellent warriors, and the recruits to the army of a kingdom or territory were not all Kṣatriyas. The Brahmins also adopted the profession of warriors (*yodhājivas*).[63] The army was composed of elephant riders, cavalry, charioteers and infantry. In Babylonia the army was also composed of infantry, cavalry and charioteers.[64] The archers are not mentioned to have taken any part in the army. The mock-fights, roll-calls, parade of troops, marching of troops through the streets, and manoeuvres formed part of military training.[65]

Arrian describes the mode in which the Indians equipped themselves for war. The foot soldiers used to carry a bow made of equal length. They rested it on the ground and pressed against it with their left foot, thus discharging the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards. The

Weapons used in war

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 217. [61] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

[62] *CHI.*, I, p. 396.

[63] *Vāseṭṭha sutta*, *Suttanipāta*, P. T. S., V. 617; *Suttanipāta Commy*, p. 466 (P, T. S. Ed.); Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 250; Jātaka, V. 127 ff.

[64] Rawlinson, *Five great monarchies of ancient eastern world*, III, p. 10.

[65] *Dīgha*, I., p. 6.

shaft they used was little short of three yards in length. In their left hand they carried buckles made of undressed ox-hide. Some were equipped with javelins but all used swords, not longer than three cubits. All carried two-handed swords with a broad blade.[66] The horsemen were equipped with two lances. They did not put saddles on their horses, nor did they curb them with bits, like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts. Within the horse's mouth was put an iron prong to which the reins were attached. When the rider pulled the reins, the prong controlled the horse.

In the time of Herodotus the Chaldeans seem to have had the same armature as the Assyrians, namely, bronze helmets, linen breast plates, shields, spears, daggers and maces or clubs. The Babylonian bow nearly resembles the ordinary curved bow of the Assyrians. The Babylonians used quivers and daggers, spears and axes.[67]

In the *Saṃhitās* as well as in the *Brāhmaṇas* bows and arrows are mentioned as the principal weapons of war in ancient times. According to the *Agnipurāṇa* (245. 5-6 and 7-10) the rod of a bow was made of steel or wood. The string was made of the fibre of bamboo, or other trees. The ancient Hindus cultivated archery. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1. 2. 4; VI. 5. 2. 10) mentions *sara* meaning an arrow. Kautilya mentions *nārāca*, *śara*, *śalāka*, and *dandaśara*. He also refers to *agni-bāna* (XIII. 4). This should be taken as a fire arm. In the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 82) there is a reference to a firearm. (*aurva*). The sage Aurva was the inventor of *Aurvāgni* or the subterranean fire. Spear (*śakti*), handgun or musket (*nālika*), cudgel or heavy staff with metallic feet (*laguḍa*), etc. were the weapons of war mentioned in the *Śukranitisāra* (IV. 30-31; IV. 42-48) to which our

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[66] Nearchus Frag. 7; *Arrian*, *Indica*, 16. [67] Rawliason, *Five great monarchies of ancient eastern world.* III., pp. 7-9.

attention has been drawn by Prof. Dikhitar in his well-written treatise entitled *War in Ancient India*. pp. 106 H). Hand-sword (*Iṣu*), battle-axe (*paraśu*),[68] a spear resembling the shape of a cow-horn (*gośira*)[69], small dagger (*asidhenu*)[70], lance and a kind of barbed dart (*kunta*)[71], staff in the shape of a hammer (*mudgara*)[72], a heavy rod of iron with 100 spikes at the top (*gadā*)[73], etc were the weapons of war used by the ancient Indians. According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *cakra* (wheel) & *trisula* (trident), weapons with piercing sharp edges, varieties of bows and three kinds of sword and razor-like weapons were used (II. 18).

6. Superintendents

The superintendents consisted of the sixth class. They acted as spies and reported everything to the king where there was kingship, and to the magistrates where the people were self-governed. Among the tribes the headmen were reported by them. They never gave any false report. Arrian says that no Indian was accused of lying[74]. According to Megasthenes the overseers forming the sixth caste were to enquire into and superintend all that was going on in India and to report to the king or to the magistrate where there was no king[75].

According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the spies who were of good family, loyal, reliable, well-trained in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries and trades, and possessed of knowledge of many languages and arts, should be sent by the king to espy in his own country the movements of his ministers, priests, commanders of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers, the officer in charge of the harem, the magistrate, the collector-

[68] *Raghuvaṁśa*, V, 9-10.
[69] *Nīti*, V, 11-14.
[70] *Ibid.*, V, 15-17.
[71] *Śukranītisāra*, IV, 7, 215.
[72] *Nīti*, V, 35-36.
[73] *Agnipurāṇa*, 252, V. 9.
[74] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 217.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

general, the chamberlain (*sannidhātri*), the commissioner, the city constable (*nāyaka*), the officer-in-charge of the city, the superintendent of transactions, the superintendent of manufactories (*karmāntika*), the assembly of councillors, heads of departments, the commissary-general (*daṇḍapāla*), officers-in-charge of fortifications, boundaries and wild tracts.[76]

7. Councillors of state

The Councillors of State forming the seventh caste were the advisers of the king or the magistrates of the self-governed cities in the management of public affairs. They were not strong numerically, but they were noted for their superior wisdom and justice. They therefore enjoyed the prerogative of choosing governors, deputy-governors, chiefs of provinces, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and agricultural commissioners.[77] Megasthenes says that the councillors and assessors forming the seventh caste or class were numerically weak but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of the members of this caste. The generals of the army and the chief magistrates usually belonged to this class.[78] The sixth and the seventh classes of Megasthenes cannot have formed castes in any sense. The seventh class constituted the council of the King or the tribal authorities (*CHI*, I., pp. 410-411) Numerically this class is a small one but it is famous for wisdom and probity.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* (IV. 25-38) of Kauṭilya a person belonging to a high family, well-trained in arts, influential, possessed of foresight, wise, bold, eloquent, intelligent, skilful, of strong memory, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity and endurance, pure in character and firm in loyal devotion, affable, healthy, brave, endowed with good

[76] Kāuṭilya's *Arthaśastra*, Ch. XII in BK. I.

[77] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 217-18.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

conduct, affectionate, free from procrastination and fickle-mindedness, and free from all such qualities as excite hatred and enmity, is worthy of becoming a councillor or a ministerial officer (*amātyasampat*).

According to Megasthenes the people were divided into seven castes. The first of them was the philosopher, which was inferior to other classes in number. Although numerically the class of philosophers was the smallest one but in honour it was most highly respected, free from taxation and labour (*CHI*, I, p. 410). The philosophers were exempted from all public duties. According to Strabo philosophers were, as a rule, orthodox brahmins and they used to hate other brahmins who put their trust in Vedic ceremonies. (Rapson *Anicent India*, pp. 58-61). The philosophers spent their days in a grove near the city practising celebacy and abstinence from meat (*CHI*, I, p. 419. They were neither the masters nor the servants of others. They were engaged by private persons to offer sacrifices due in life-time and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead The philosopher, if he errs in his prediction, incurs no other penalty than obloquy and he then observes silence for the rest of his life[79]. Self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers according to Megasthenes. The Śramanas[80] (*Sarmanes* or Sarmanai) and *Brāhmaṇas* (*Brachmanes* or Brachmānai) were the two sects of the philosophers[81]. The *Brachmanes* or Brāhmaṇas do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives[82]. They had the greatest prestige since they had a more consistent dogmatic system. The *Śarmanes* or *Śramanas* are held in high honour. They live in the woods and abstain themselves from sexual in-

[79] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 38—39.

[80] In Indian Literature *Śramaṇa* is used in the sense of non-Buddhist ascetic.

[81] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 104.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 100; *CHI*, I, 419.

tercourse and from wine. They wear clothes made of tree barks(*CHI*,I, 420). They communicate with the kings who consult them by messengers as to the causes of things and who through them worship the deity[83]. The second caste or class consists of husbandmen who devote whole of their time to tillage. They with their wives and children live in the country and avoid going to the town. They pay a land tribute to the King.

Arrian does not say anything about the administration of public affairs. Megasthenes, on the other hand, has mentioned a few points concerning it. He says that of the great officers of the state some had charge of the market, while others of the city and the soldiers. Some used to superintend the rivers, measure the land, and inspect the sluices by which the water was let out from the main canals into their branches. The same persons had charge also of the huntsmen and were entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them. They used to collect taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of the wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners. They used to construct roads and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads an distances. Those who had charge of the city were divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first looked after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attended to the entertainment of the foreigners. To those they assigned lodgings and they kept watch over their modes of life. They escorted them on the way when they left the country or in the event of death they forwarded their property to their relatives. They took care of them while sick and buried them if dead. The judges decided cases concerning foreigners with great care.[84] The third body consisted of those who enquired

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

[84] McCrindel, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 42.

when and how births and deaths occurred. The fourth class superintended trade and commerce. Its members had charge of weights an measures. No one was allowed to deal in more than one commodity unless he paid a double tax. The fifth class supervised manufactured articles which were sold by public notice. The sixth or the last class consisted of those who used to collect the tenths of the prices of the goods sold. For a fraud in the payment of this tax death sentence was passed.[85]

Megasthenes particularly mentions three kinds of officials, namely, district officials, town officials, and members of the war office. The duty of the district officials was to supervise irrigation and land measurement, hunting and various industries connected with agriculture, forestry, mines, metal-foundries, etc. The town officials were divided into six boards of five. They had various functions to supervise factories, to take charge of strangers, sick persons, etc., to register births and deaths, to control markets, to inspect weights and measures and manufactured goods and to collect tax of 10% charged on sales. The third kind of officials constituted the war office and were divided into six boards of five, e.g., admiralty, transport and commissariat, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. (*CHI*, I, 417-418)

King

The king was the prominent figure. He might not sleep during the daytime, but by night he was obliged to change his couch from time to time with a view to defeat plots against his life. The king used to leave his palace not only in time of war but also for the purpose of judging cases. He took the field with his army in war. He remained in the court for the whole day for business. He continued to hear cases while the friction

[85] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 86-87.

was proceeding. Another purpose for which he had to leave his palace was to offer sacrifice. He used to go to the chase. While returning crowds of women surrounded him, themselves, carrying weapons, in chariots, on horses and elephants, and outside of this circle spearmen were ranged. The king used to hunt in the enclosure and arrows were shot from a platform defended by a stockade. Two or three armed women stood by his side.

While hunting on the open ground arrows were shot from the back of an elephant.[86] A stern custom ordained that if the king became intoxicated, any of his women, who killed him, received special honour. Within the doors of the palace the king was tended by the women of his harem, bought for a price from their fathers.[87]

In ancient Persia the sovereign was the absolute master, the sole fountain of law and honour, blessed himself with infallibility, the one man on whose character and capability the weal or woe of the entire country depended. At the same time there were some limitations to his power. He was expected to observe the customs of the country and was bound to consult his great nobles. He was equally bound by his own decisions.[88]

Marriage

Girls were married without giving or taking dowries, but when they were of marriageable age, their fathers exposed them in the public to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running or by some one excelling in any other manly exercise.[89]

Polygamy was widely practised in ancient Iran and women had certain rights there.[90] Persian kings and rulers

[86] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 71.

[87] *CHI.*, I, p. 416.

[88] Sykes, *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 184.

[89] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 227; Wheeler, *History of India*, pp. 167-68.

[90] R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 347.

indulge in a plurality of wives and mistresses. If a person of inferior rank marries a woman of respectable connections, she becomes a mistress of his family.[91]

Women in India, when seven years old, attained marriageable age and men lived at most forty years in the country where the daughter of Herakles reigned as queen. There was a tradition current among the Indians that Herakles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man his equal in rank to whom he could give his daughter in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years old, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India. Consequently the whole nation over which his daughter Pandaia reigned, obtained the same privilege from her father. Accoraing to Arrian, if Herakles could have aone a thing so mervellous, he could also have made himself long lived in order to have intercourse with his daughter, when she was of mature age. If the age at which the women there were marriageable was correctly stated, this was quite consistent according to Arrian with what was said of the age of men. According to Arrian men of thirty would there be in their green old age, and young men at twenty would be past puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. That women might be marriageable at the age of seven is quite consistent with it.[92]

Megasthenes says, on the authority of Strabo, that the Indians married many wives whom they bought from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. They married some hoping to find in them willing helpmates and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. The wives prostituted themselves unless they

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[91] Piggot, *Persia, ancient and modern*, Ch. XIV.

[92] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 207-8.

were compelled to be chaste.[93] Megasthenes further says that the care of the king's person was entrusted to women who were bought from their parents. A woman killing the king when drunk became the wife of his successor. The son succeeded the father. The women were allowed to associate themselves with men as ascetics according to Nearchus.[94] Megasthenes seems to have asserted that where congugal infidelity in a wife was due to her husband's omission to exercise vigorous control, it was condoned by public opinion (Megasthenes, Frag. 27; Strabo, XV. c. 709). According to Aristobulus a man unable to get her daughter married on account of poverty would sell her in the market. (Aristobulus, Frag. 34; Cf. Strabo, XV. c. 714). Nearchus says that among some Indian peoples a girl was put up as the prize of victory in a boxing match, the victor obtained her without paying the price. (Nearchus, Frag. 7; Strabo, XV. c. 716).

The Great Epic records an instance where a girl of seven was united with an adult of twenty-one. Manu allowed early marriage in the case of girls. According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (iii.3) the girls when twelve years old were to be treated as major and the boys, when sixteen years old. The *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka* seeks to account for Brāhmaṇa opinion in favour of infant marriages in the case of girls by the general belief in the frailty of woman's nature and the desire to protect her against mischiefs from the very infancy. Such marriages might have been prevalent among the Brahmins and lower social grades, whereas among the Kṣatriyas and the aristocratic Vaiśyas the custom appears to have been different.

Inter-marriage between castes was prohibited according to the custom of the country. A husbandman cannot

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[93] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[94] Frag. 7=Strabo, XV. c. 716.

take a wife from the artisan caste and an artisan cannot take a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits a change from one caste to another, and it also prohibits anyone from undertaking two trades. In other words, one cannot become a husbandman, if he is an herdsman, or one cannot become a herdsman, if he is an artisan. A sophist was permitted to be of any caste, for his life was the hardest of all[95].

It struck the Greeks that an Indian virtuous wife was burnt with her husband's body on the funeral pyre. Onesicritus spoke of it as especially a custom of the Kṣatriyas (Cf. Strabo, XV. c. 700) Sometimes the widow followed her husband to the pyre of her own accord and those who refused to do so were held in contempt CHI, (p. 415; Aristobulus, Frag. 34; Strabo, XV. c. 714). An Indian having two wives was killed in battle. They wanted to be *satis* or virtuous wives and the matter was referred to the Greek and Macedonian generals who decided in favour of the younger one. The elder woman having a child was disappointed to know the result. She ended her life in heroic fashion. She lay down beside her husband and as the fire seized her, no sound of weakness escaped her lips. The spec- tators were moved and some of the Greeks present there found fault with such custom as savage and inhuman.[96]

In the pre-Buddhistic age a person would ordinarily marry a member of his own caste. But marriage with a member outside one's own class or caste, that is, *aśavarṇa-marriage*, was not unknown. A Brāhmaṇa enjoyed the right of having a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, or even a Śūdra girl as his wife. The marriage of the Brāhmaṇa sage Cyavana with the Kṣatrıya girl, Sukanyā, daughter of Śaryāta, is an

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[95] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 218.

[96] *CHI*, I., p. 415 ; Diod. XIX, 34.

example of this type. Similarly, a Kṣatriya could take a Vaiśya or a Śūdra wife. Marriage with a Śūdra maiden was alike open to a Vaiśya. Marriage with a Śūdra woman though discouraged was not unknown. The marriage of a Śūdra or a Vaiśya with a Kṣatriya girl was thought to be unusual and as such resented.[97]

Race which provoked great excitement usually took place between chariots to each of which a horse between two oxen was harnessed.[98]

Arrian on the authority of Nearchus points out that the dress worn by the Indians was made of cotton. They used to wear a cotton undergarment reaching below the knees, half-way down to the ankles, and also an uppergarment which they threw partly over their shoulders and partly twisted in folds round their heads. Herodotus also points out that the Indians wore garments made from cotton trees.[99] Megasthenes on the authority of Strabo points out that the Indian robes were worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones. The Indians wore also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. They loved finery and ornament in contrast to the general simplicity of their style.[100] They had a high regard for beauty and availed themselves of every device to improve their looks.[101] In ancient Persia an apparel like frock-coat was much used.[102] The ancient Babylonians used to wear a long undergarment and short open coat. The girdle was an essential feature of the Babylonian custom. The tiara of the monarch was very remarkable. The head-dress was worn low on the brow.[103]

Indian Dress

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97 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126. 98 *Ibid.*, I, p. 417.

99 vii. 65; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 396.

100 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 69, cf. *CHI*, I., p. 412.

101 Cf. Megasthenes, Frag., 27.

102 Piggot, *Persia, ancient and modern*, p. 264.

103 Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies of the ancient eastern world*, Vol. III, p. 7.

A Vedic Indian stands before us perfectly well dressed, caring for dress and creating an art of making dress. He is seen ordinarily in the habit of putting on a cloth (*vastra*), a garment (*vasana*), upper-garment (*uttarīya*), overgarment (*adhivāsa*), covering (*pravara*), and a turban (*uṣṇīṣa*). The ladies are seen wearing undergarment, garment, veil and turban. The garments are found to be both coloured and uncoloured. Winternitz points out that two or three garments seem to have formed the usual dress of the people.[104]

The *Ṛgveda* speaks of splendid garment (*suvasana*), dyed garment (*paridhāna*), embroidered garment of a female dancer (*peśas*), bridal garment (*vādhūya*) and wind garment (*vātapāna*).

The *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra* speaks of four kinds of Indian clothing (II. 10.2.10). As known to Herodotos the Indians used to wear garments made of rushes. In the Pre-Maurya period the clothing differed with different peoples and localities. The Śivis of the Punjab wore lion's skin like their deity Herakles (*Śiva*). The same remark may hold true of the Carmākhandikas of the lower Punjab.[105]

According to Arrian very wealthy Indians used to wear ivory ear-rings.[106] In the Vedic age ornaments were generally made of gold and included necklaces, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets. The use of ornaments for the decoration of the body seems to have been known among the members of both the sexes.

Ornament, beard, parasol and shoes

Nearchus points out that the Indian beards were dyed white, blue, red, purple and green.[107]

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[104] *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 92.
[105] Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. I., p. 111.
[106] M'cCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 225.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

F. 4

In the Vedic age shaving though not unknown was not commonly done in the matter of beards. Dressing of hair was a common custom among men and women.

The Indians used parasols as a screen from the heat. Megasthenes, on the authority of Strabo, says that the attendants walking behind held up umbrellas over the heads of Indians.[108]

The Indians used shoes made of white leather, very elaborately marked, while soles were variegated and thick.

Dyeing

The art of dyeing was in vogue as early as the time of the *Mahābhārata* which attests that different peoples had special likings for colours of their dresses. Arjuna, for instance, wanted the white clothes of Ācārya and Śāradvata, the yellow ones of Karṇa, the blue ones of Aśvatthāmā and the king, to be collected[109].

Slaves

Megasthenes erroneously says that all the Indians were free and none among them was a slave. The Lakedaimonians and the Indians are in agreement on this point. The Lakedaimonions held the helots as slaves and these helots did servile labour but the Indians did not even use the aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own[110]. Megasthenes did not omit to mention that both the philosophic view and the law of the land combined to see all men free in India. Slaves could regain freedom through voluntary manumission by their master. Slave boys and girls were employed in domestic service. Some were well trained and skilful.

It is curious to know the Greek assertion that slavery was unknown in India. Oneṣicritus says that it was un-

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[108] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 69.

[109] *Mbh.* Virāṭaparva, 66, 13; Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 36.

[110] McCrindle, *Ancient India as dascribed by M. and A.*, pp. 212-213.

known in the kingdom of Musicanus (Upper Sind)[111]. During the Achaemenian period agricultural production continued to be based on the large estate worked by the serfs attached to the land and bought and sold with it and also by the slave brought back from successful wars.[112] There existed great estates with villages in Iran in which serfs and probably also the slaves worked for the upkeep of the throng of priests and priestesses, male and female singers, musicians, temple slaves and servants.[113] An Iranian slave girl given by Rome to Phraates IV became Queen.[114] In Rome the institution of slaves was more than anywhere else extended in its operations and methodized in its details. According to the ancient Roman law a slave could not possess property of any kind. Whatever he acquired legally belonged to his master. Though the Roman slaves were not like the Spartan helots kept in obedience by systematic terrorism, their large number was a constant source of danger. Slavery in its worse form existed in Egypt, Sumeria, Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, China and Persia. Slavery, though not at all rigorous as compared with the Greek or Roman form, existed as a social institution in ancient India.

The hard lot of slaves and hirelings is vividly described by the Buddha.[115] In the Buddha's time there were four main classes of slaves : those who were born of slave parents or begotten on slave women;[116] those who were purchased with money; those who took to slavery of their own accord ; and those who were reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits. There were other kinds too and the

[111] *CHI.*, I, 416; Onesicritus, Frag. 20 =Arrian, *Indica*, 10; Strabo, XV. C. 710. It is certain that slavery was a regular institution in India.

[112] Ghirshman, *Iran*, pp. 183-84

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[115] *Dīgha*, I, p. 60.

[116] *Sumangalavilāsinī*, I, p. 300—*antojātadayo.*

number further increased later on. According to the ancient Jain texts[117] there were six classes of slaves, namely, (1) those who were slaves from their birth, (2) those who were bought, (3) those who could not pay their debts, (4) those who were made slaves during famine, (5) those who could not pay fine and (6) those who were taken prisoners. Manu enumerates seven kinds of slaves.

They are as follows :—

(1) those captured during the war, (2) those who served in lieu for maintenance, (3) those born in the house, (4) those who were bought, (5) those who were received as gifts, (6) those who were hereditary slaves, i.e., those who were slaves by inheritance and (7) those who were made slaves by the Court sentence.

For the human treatment of slaves and hirelings the Buddha enjoined that the master or the employer should fulfil his duties towards them by assigning to them work according to their capacity, supplying them with proper meals and wages, tending them in sickness, sharing with them delicacies, and granting them leave at times.[118]

According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* a slave shall be entitled to enjoy not only what he has earned without prejudice to his master's work but also the inheritance he has received from his father. The ransom necessary for a slave to regain his freedom is equal to what he has been paid for. Any person who has been enslaved for fines or court decrees, shall earn the amount by work. The property of a slave shall pass into the hands of his kinsman, and in the absence of any kinsman, his master shall take it.[119]

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[117] *Mahānisīhasuya*, p. 28; *Piṇḍanijjuti*, p. 319.

[118] *Dīgha*, III, p. 191.

[119] Vide Rules regarding slaves, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book III, Chap. XIII. For a detailed treatment vide my article entitled Slaves & *Slavery* published in the *Hindusthan Standard Punjab Annual* 1959, pp. 155-157.

Disposal of the dead

Regarding the disposal of the dead the absence of funeral display and imposing monuments seemed strange to the Greeks.[120] The virtues of the dead were sufficient monument and the songs sung over them. The Greeks tell us that the dead were exposed to vultures.[121] Megasthenes says that in Hindukush the bodies of the dead were eaten by their relations.[122] The disposal of the dead by being exposed to birds of prey is definitely an Iranian custom still practised by the modern Parsis. The exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures is repugnant to the Zarathushtrian religious ideal.[123]

Elephants and Elephant Hunting

Ancient India possessed a large number of huge elephants which far surpassed those found elsewhere in both strength and size. Antiochus obtained a number of elephants from Sophagesenus, (Subhagasena), the grandson of Sandracottus (Chandragupta Maurya).[124] A class of hermits in ancient times used to subsist on elephant meat. Megasthenes says on the authority of Strabo, that a private person was not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king and attendants were appointed to take care of them. According to Arrian, the elephant was the most intelligent of all beasts and Indians soothed and cheered elephants by chanting songs together with the music of drums and cymbals. Arrian actually saw an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing. A cymbal was attached to each foreleg of the performer. The dancing elephants all the while kept danc-

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[120] *Cambridge History of India*, i. p. 415.

[121] Megasthenes-Frags. 26, 27; Arrian, *Indica* 10.

[122] Frag 27; Strabo, XV. C. 710.

[123] Davar, *Iran & its Culture*, p. 160.

[124] Rawlinson, *The sixth great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 62 & f. n. 2

ing in a circle. As they raised and curved their forelegs in turn, they also moved in proper time.

Some of the elephants took up their riders when slain in battle, and carried them away for their burial. Others covered them while lying on the ground with a shield. Some bore the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. An elephant died of remorse and despair, because it killed its rider in a fit of rage.

Arrian says that the elephant engendered in spring, when females emitted breath through the spiracles by the side of their temples. The period of gestation never exceeded eighteen months. The birth was single as in the case of the mare, the newly born one was allowed to suck till it reached its eighth year. The elephants that lived the longest attained an age of two hundred years,[125] but many of them died prematurely. According to Onesicritus an elephant's life lasted for 300 years, which seems to be an exaggeration. There existed elephant-chariot as seen by the Greeks.

Diseases of their eyes were cured by pouring cow's milk into them. Their wounds were healed by the application of roasted pork. They were cured by fomenting them with lukewarm water and rubbing them over with butter.[126] Ancient Indians regarded the elephant as less powerful than the tiger.

It is interesting to note that the taming of elephants was known in the Vedic period. Tamed elephants were used to catch others. The reference to *Hasti-pa*[127] shows that it was tamed. There is no trace of the use of elephants in war in Vedic literature but in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (dated B. C. 321 and 300) we find a reference to elephants

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125 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 42.

126 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 93.

127 *Vedic Index*, II, 501-502.

serviceable in war (Chap. XXXI). In fact, the animal was famed for its strength and virility. Strength to kill or shoot an elephant was a mark of valour in ancient times. In the 4th century B. C. the best time for capturing elephants was summer. No elephant less than 20 years old was captured. Young, infatuated, tuskless, diseased elephants, female elephants. and elephants suckling their young ones, were not captured. A young elephant captured for the purpose of sporting was fed with milk and grass.

Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues. They were of four kinds :—(1) dwarf elephants, (2) tall elephants, (3) high-class elephants, and (4) six-tusked elephants. The six-tusked elephants were noted for the high quality of the ivory.

It is interesting to learn from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* about the duties of the superintendent of elephants and their training. The superintendent of elephants is to take proper steps to protect elephant forests and to supervise standing or lying in stables of elephants, when tired after training. He is to examine the quantity of rations and grass for them and to see the work of elephant doctors and the training of elephants in warlike feats. An elephant-stable is constructed as broad and twice as high as the length of an elephant with separate apartments for female elephants. The space where the elephant lies down is as broad as the length of an elephant. Elephants serviceable in war or for riding are kept inside the fort and those that are being tamed or are of bad temper are kept outside. There are two bathing times for elephants. They have their time for taking food, exercise, drink, sleep, and wakeful rest.

Elephants are classed into four kinds according to their respective training : tameable elephants, those trained for war, for riding, and rogue elephants. Rogue elephants can be trained in one way only. Punishment is the only

means to keep them under control. Military training is given to elephants, such as drill, turning, advancing, trampling down and killing, assailing forts, etc. The elephant doctor gives direction about the forms of fetters and other necessary means to keep them under control. Tether-posts, collars, girths, bridles, legchains and front-fetters are the binding instruments used.

Elephant doctors are to prescribe necessary medicine for elephants, when they suffer from diseases, overwork, etc. Elephant doctors, trainers, expert riders, as well as those who groom them, who prepare food for them, who procure grass for them, who bind them, who watch them in stables at night, and who clean their stables, are some of the persons who must have to attend to the needs of elephants. Accumulation of dirt in stables, failure to supply grass, causing an elephant to lie down on a hard ground, striking on vital parts of its body, permission to a stranger to ride over it, untimely riding, leading it to water through impassable places, and allowing it to enter into dense forests, are offences punishable with fines. Elephants trained for riding are taught various kinds of movement by means of staff and by an iron hook. They are taught to move without whips.

Rogue elephants are possessed of all kinds of vice. They are obstinate, of perverse nature, unsteady, and of infatuated temper. They are also trained to respond to signals.

In the 6th century B. C. the elephant was given an honourable place in the army. The king, when he led the army against his enemy, sat on his special elephant and attacked the enemy's city. Besides the state elephant there were many other elephants. The battlefield was considered to be their home. Elephants caused a great havoc in battle. They beat against the gate and broke the bars. They entered the city by force and won it for their king.

An ideal war elephant was a tusker and the best, even when it was 60 years old. There were special elephant riders (*hastipālakā*) in the service of the king. In times of peace elephants were well decorated and used for processions. The state elephant was generally used in festivities or when the king was on his tour round the city.

A close study of the Jaina books gives us some information about elephants. The elephant was a long-lived animal. There were four varieties of elephants. Kings were very fond of them and the state elephants bore special names. King Ajātaśatru of Magadha had two well-known elephants. King Pradyota of Avantī (Western Malwa) had one valuable elephant. King Udayana of the Vatsas had one favourite elephant, named Bhadravatī, on the back of which Udayana carried off Vāsavadattā from Ujjayinī[128] to Kauśāmbī.[129] King Udayana of Kauśāmbī was versed in the art of charming elephants by his music. In fact, elephants are classified according to their physical strength, sharp or slow intelligence, and their ability to lead attacks. Elephants were equipped with armours, flags, standards, garlands, weapons, etc. There were special elephant trainers.

Indians, like the Greeks, were in the habit of hunting all wild animals. Elephants were hunted in a peculiar mode altogether. The hunters used to select a level ground with a trench dug all round it, enclosing as much space as was necessary to encamp a large army. The trench was made with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. The earth, which was thrown out while digging, was heaped up in mounds on both edges of the trench, serving it as a wall. The hunters made huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, leaving loop-holes in them to admit light and to enable them to see

[128] Modern Ujjain in Gwalior.

[129] Modern Kosam, U. P.

when their prey entered the enclosure. Three or four best trained she-elephants were kept within the trap to which only a single passage was left by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which was covered with earth and a great quantity of straw, just to conceal the bridge as much as possible from wild animals. The hunters then retired to their cells which they made in the earthen wall. Wild elephants did not go near the inhabited places in daytime, but during the night they wandered about here and there, following the biggest and the boldest one as their leader. As soon as they approached the enclosure, heard the cry, and caught the scent of the females, they rushed towards the fenced ground and, being arrested by the trench, they moved around its edge until they fell in with the bridge along which they forced their way into the enclosure. Some of the hunters, seeing the wild elephants entering, hastened to take away the bridge, while others went to nearest villages to announce that the elephants were in the trap.

The villagers on hearing the news mounted their most-spirited and best-trained elephants to go to the trap. They did not immediately engage themselves in a conflict with the wild elephants, but waited till these were sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst. When they thought that they had become weak, they set up the bridge anew and rode into the enclosure, when a fierce assault was made by the tamed elephants upon those entrapped, and then wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, were overpowered. The hunters then dismounted from their elephants, bound the feet of the wild ones with fetters. Then they instigated the tamed elephants to beat the wild elephants with repeated blows till they fell down on the ground. The hunters standing close by slipped nooses around their necks and mounted them while lying on the ground. In order to prevent them from shaking

off their riders or doing any mischief, an incision was made by a sharp knife all round their neck and fastened the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they kept their head and neck quite steady, because the wound would be aggravated by the action of the rope, if they were restive. They therefore shunned their violent movements and suffered themselves to be led in fetters by the tamed ones, knowing that they were vanquished. It is better to compare this account with that of Megasthenes.[130] He says that a wild elephant could be tamed by music. When enthralled with the music it could be freed from its bonds or fetters. It would not then seek to escape.[131]

The early Buddhist and Jain texts contain an interesting account of elephants. The *Jātakas* (nos. 463 and 455) point out that an elephant was of two colours : black rock colour and white colour. The white elephant appeared like a mighty mass of silver. Its eyes were bright; its mouth was red; its trunk was like silver flecked with red gold and its four legs were as if polished with lac. Some elephants had six tusks.[132] The death news of its master was heart-breaking to it. It mourned and lamented greatly.[133] When it grew up it went so far as it killed its fostering master.[134] It was yoked to carts as a substitute for oxen.[135] It was used for military purposes.[136] The *Jātaka* (no. 163) refers to elephant lore and elephant festival. The Chaddanta was a superior class of elephant noted for its ivory. The Jain texts[137] refer to *Hastitāpasas* who are named from the fact that every year a big elephant was killed and they lived on

[130] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 90-91.

[131] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 92-93)

[132] *Jātaka* No. 514. [133] *Ibid.*, No. 156. [134] *Ibid.*, No. 161.

[135] *Ibid.*, No. 409. [136] *Ibid.*, No. 547.

[137] *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2, 6, 52; *Jaina Sūtras*, II, p. 418 & fn. 2 ; *Aupapātika sūtra*, Leumann Ed., sec. 74.

its flesh for a year or six months. Fighting elephants are mentioned in the *Kalpa-sūtra* (44).

Arrian says that the Indians regarded the tiger much more powerful than the elephant. He quotes Nearchus who had seen the skin of a tiger but not the tiger itself.[138] According to the Indians, as pointed out by Nearchus, the tiger was equal in size to the largest horse.

Tiger and Leopard

For swiftness and strength no other animal could be compared with it. A tiger when it encountered an elephant, jumped upon its head, and easily strangled it. There were leopards described as jackals with spotted skins. Megasthenes heard that there were tigers twice the size of lions.[139]

Lion., Bull and dog

Megasthenes says that a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. According to him the dogs were of great strength and courage.[140] Some of the Indian dogs would not relax their bite upon a lion although their legs were sawn off.[141] It was this breed which the Greeks learnt from the Indians to be a cross between dogs and tigers.[142] The early Greeks heard of wild sheep and goats of hills and of the rhinoceros. In Persia are found tiger, wolf, wild cat, wild hog, wild ass, Syrian bear, antelope, and birds of various kinds. Megasthenes and Arrian have not referred to these animals excepting tiger.[143]

Parrots and snakes

Arrian quotes Nearchus in telling us about parrots. They could speak with a human voice. Arrian says that he himself saw many parrots.

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138 Nearchus-Frag. XII; Arrian's *Indica*, 15; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 222.

139 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 407.

140 Frag. XII; *Ancient India*, p. 54; for further details vide *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 407.

141 Megasthenes Frag. 10; Strabo XV. c. 700.

142 Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, sec. 148.

143 Piggot, *Persia, ancient and modern*, pp. 272-73.

The Buddhist texts mention parrots which are fond of choice rice. They eat figs. They fly very swiftly. When grown old their eyes are affected. They are clever and serve as messengers.[144] Regarding snakes he quotes Nearchus who tells us that they were caught in the country being spotted and nimble in their movements. According to Megasthenes serpents in India were of such a size as they could swallow stags and bulls and other animals of big size.[145] Serpents of enormous size were bred in the country of the Kirātas (Skiratai). Some of them seized the cattle and devoured them.[146] Megasthenes further says that in India there were winged serpents also. They did not go abroad during the day but they did so during the night.[147] Nearchus knew that the smaller poisonous snakes were more dangerous and he describes how life in India was burdened with the fear of finding them anywhere. Sometimes the snakes infested a particular house to make it uninhabitable. They understood that there were some flying snakes which dropped from the air at night a poisonous secretion corrupting the flesh of any one upon whom it fell. (*CHI*, I, pp. 406-407)

No cure of snake-bite was found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians could cure those who were bitten.

The early Buddhist text mentions four royal races of snakes (*Jāt* no. 203). The Ajagarā or Ajagara (Boa constrictor) snake has a big body. It can live for a long time having empty belly (Milinda-Panho, Trenckner's ed., p. 406). Different snakes have diverse shapes. The tail of

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[144] *Jatakas* nos. 73, 429 and 255.

[145] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 59; Megasthenes Frag. XIV; Pliny *Natural History*, viii, sec. 36.

[146] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

[147] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

a male snake is thick and that of the female is thin; the eyes of a male one are big and those of a female one are small; the head of the male is rounded and that of the female cut short (*Jāt* No. 546). The snake likes honey, sweet parched corn and eats frogs (*Jāt.* Nos., 73 506 and 543). The viper is venomous and is not tamed. It cannot be trusted.(*Jāt.* No. 43) For further details vide B. C. Law, *Animals in early Jain in Buddhist Literature.* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XII, No. I).

Nearchus says that Alexander had skilful Indians in the healing art collected around him. He proclaimed that if anybody was bitten by a snake, he should repair to the royal tent. In the case of an attack of severe pain the sophists were consulted who could cure diseases by means of charms.

Snake-bite

Alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose was found in the river Gaṇḍakī or Gaṇḍakāvatī.[148]

Alligator

According to Megasthenes there were apes in India bigger than the largest dogs, having tails five cubits long, hair on their forehead and luxuriant beard hanging down their breast. Their face was entirely white and all the rest of the body, black. They were tamed and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries. They were attached to men.

Apes

Megasthenes points out that the apes were like satyrs who inhabited the glens of the Himālaya. The forests on the upper Jhelum were full of apes as recorded by one of Alexander's companions. Among the monkeys there is a breed of apes, human in intelligence and about the size of Hyrcanian dogs. (*CHI*, I., p. 405

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[148] (Gandak, Gk. Kondochates).

McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 193 f. n. 2; *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Apes or monkeys are like the human form in feet, hands and face according to the *Kuṭidūsaka Jātaka*. (*Jāt* No. 301, Vol. III). They usually live in troops in forests and they take their abode also in trees having branches.[149] They are fond of sweet fruits especially mangoes.[150] They are mischievous by nature. They are ungrateful to their benefactors and make grimace at them.[151] They like the association of female monkeys.[152] They are fond of ornaments. They are trained by snake-charmers to play with snakes.[153] They do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives to save their parents.[154]

The Himālayan forestts are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues.[155] They contained horses of diverse breed, reptiles, pythons, water-snakes, etc. The rivers and lakes were full of fish, and the birds were numerous. The Himalayan mountain was resounded with the songs of the birds.[156] Deer-hunting was found in the Himālayan region.[157]

Elephants, horses, reptiles, fish, birds etc., in the Himālayan forests

According to Arrian the animals used by the common people for riding were camels, horses and asses, while the wealthy used elephants. The conveyance which ranked next in honour was the chariot and four. The camel ranked third. A conveyance drawn by a single horse was considered no distinction at all. Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, could not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving it a lady allowed the giver to enjoy her person. The Indians did not consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant. But it was regarded as

149 *Jātaka* Nos. 20, 92.

150 *Ibid.*, No. 407.

151 *Ibid.*, No. 174.

152 *Ibid.*, No. 418.

153 *Ibid-*, No. 365.

154 *Ibid.*, No. 222.

155 *Ibid.*, VI, 497.

156 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 272.

157 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 77.

a high compliment to the sex that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant.[158]

Arrian quotes Megasthenes in informing us that the oyster, which yielded the pearl known to the Indians as *Margarita*, was fished for with nets. Oysters like bees had a king or queen, and if the king was managed to be caught, he readily enclosed in the net all the rest of the shoal. The fisherman allowed the fleshy parts of the oysters to become decomposed, and kept the bone forming the ornament. Pearl in India was worth thrice its weight in refined gold. Gold was a product of Indian mines.[159] Some hold that in swarms of oysters individuals famous for beauty and size act as leaders. They are very cunning in escaping captivity. If they are caught others are easily enclosed in the nets. They are then put into earthen pots where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is eaten away and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.[160] Bibaga abounds with oysters and other shellfish. It is known as Bibakta by Arrian.

Oyster

Megasthenes says on the authority of Strabo that among the Derdai, an Indian tribe, inhabiting the mountains on the eastern borders there was an elevated plateau about 3000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there were mines of gold in which ants were found, which used to dig for that metal. They were not inferior in size tc wild foxes. They used to run with amazing speed and they lived on the produce of the chase. Their digging time was winter. They threw up heaps of

Gold-digging ants

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[158] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 226-27.

[159] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian*, p. 207.

[160] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 115; Megasthenes Frag. 23; Arrian, *Indica*, 8.

earth at the mouth of the mines.[161] The gold-dust was subjected to a little boiling. The neighbouring people secretly carried it off with beasts of burden. If they came openly the ants would attack them and destroy them and their cattle.[162] They never used to part with their gold even at the sacrifice of their lives. The gold dust was sold to the trader.[163] Herodotus gave a full account of the ants which threw heaps of gold dust. Gold dust was actually brought as tribute by the tribes of Dardistan in Kashmere and was called by the Indians as 'ant-gold'.[164]

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[161] The gold-digging ants are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II. 1860 (Calcutta Ed.).

[162] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 95.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[164] *C.H.I.*, I, p. 396.

THE ORIGINS OF YOGA

By DR. VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA

Culture is a complex phenomenon. It is an interrelated organic whole. But there may be some elements in a culture which are dominant and they may significantly influence the rest. Religion has been the predominant element in ancient Indian culture in spite of the multifarious achievements of the ancient inhabitants of this country in the secularistic sectors of existence. Yoga is one of the dominant aspects of the esoteric and mystical side of Indian religion.[1] It had added an uniqueness and distinctness to Indian culture.[2] The great significance of Yoga is twofold. First, it involves a tremendous degree of moral and physical training. It is a profound psychological discipline. Yoga in its highest phases represents absorptive concentration and deep meditation on the secrets of cosmic existence. Second, this enormous training is regarded as the path to divine illumination. Even those systems of thought which do not explicitly acknowledge the existence of a superior Godhead, like the Jaina,[3] the Buddhist and the Sāṅkhya accept the supreme validity of Yoga as a technic for the realization of final wisdom.

1. YOGA AND MOHENJODARO-HARAPPA CIVILIZATION

The developed psychology and philosophy of Yoga that we find in the systems of Patanjala Yoga and Buddhism

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[1] Yoga is comparable to German *Joch*, Latin *Jugum* and Anglo-Saxon *Geoc*.

[2] Even the highly logical and dialectical Nyāya system accepts the efficacy of Yoga. See *Nyāya-Sūtras*, iv, 2, 38-42.

[3] The Jaina technics of Yoga meant for the chartening of the mind are different from those of the Buddhists and the Pātañjala system. See S. N. Dasgupta. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 203.

has had a long history behind it. Sometimes it is said that the roots of Yoga can be traced to pre-Āryan antiquities.[4] This pre-Āryanism of Yoga receives additional confirmation from the statues or figures unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. One of the most remarkable of these figures is that which is considered as a representation of Paśupati-Śiva in a Yogic mood.[5] In later mythology and literature Śiva is the god *par excellence* of Yoga. Śiva is regarded as the lord of the Yogins—Yogīśwara. It is remarkable that at the busy mercantile centre of Mohenjodaro, the founders and builders of this culture could conceive of the ideal of Śiva in a Yogic posture.

Yoga in its earlier aspects was conceived not so much as a path of spiritual transsubstantiation as a magical technic for the enhancement of vital powers. It was calculated to increase the powers of endurance and to foster the acquisition of dynamism and vigor. This side of Yoga has been perfected by the school of Haṭhayoga which develops the practice of Yoga as a means to control the effects and impacts of nature.

2. YOGIC IDEAS IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

There are numerous references to the practices of Yoga as well as to the word Yoga in the Vedic literature.[6] This indicates that although the roots of Yoga may be pre-Aryan and even aboriginal some of their crude aspects, by the time of the composition of the Vedic literature

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[4] According to G. W. Brown the terms Yoga, Sāṅkhya and even Upaniṣad are of Dravidian origin. cf. Hauer, *Die Anfange der Yogapraxis im alten Indien.*

[5] S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, pp. 36, 118.

[6] Cf. Maryla Falk, *Nama-Rupa and Dhamma-Rupa.* See also Gopinath Kaviraj, "*Yoga Kā Viṣaya Paricaya*" (In Hindi), *Kalyāṇa Yogāṅka* (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1935) and Tuxen's *Yoga.*

they were assimilated into the priestly religion. This is an illustration how popular ideas and notions become transformed into hieratic concepts. According to the later Yogic practices, the control of breath or *prāṇāyāma* is an essential stage of Yoga. In the *Atharvaveda* the great immanental power of *prāṇa* is recognized. The names of some of the prāṇas are also found in the early Vedic literature. Although no specific mention of *prāṇayāma* is found in the Vedic literature it is possible that the idea of the control of breath must have developed in those days because in the Vedas there is explicit mention of the control of the mind and the intellect.[7]

There are other Vedic references to ideas associated with the Yoga.[8] In the *Ṛgveda* there is mention of mysterious Uttānapāda as a cosmic power.[9] (It may be a possible reference to the practice of assuming the position of an embryo in the womb as a means of realizing mystical rebirth. This interpretation receives substantiation from what the *Ṛgveda* says about Vāmadeva. There, there is an explicit enunciation of the idea that mystic vision and consciousness can be attained even in the womb. The later interpreters and exegetists of Vedānta like Bādarāyaṇa and Śaṅkara also put a mystical interpretation on the Vāmadeva hymn. This implies that according to the contemporary ideas, some exceptional souls were regarded as gifted with Yogic powers from their very birth. This conception becomes very important later on, and Buddha

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[7] Cf. "*Ṛgveda Me Prāṇa Vidyā*", *Kalyāna*, *Yogāṅka*, *op. cit.*

[8] In the *Ṛgveda* the word Yoga is used in various senses; viz. (a) accomplishing the unaccomplished, (b) Yoking or harnessing, (c) relation or combination etc. In the *Atharvaveda* xx, 26, 1, there is the word *Yoge yoge*. See E. W. Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXII, pp. 333 ff. and Charpentier, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXV.

[9] Ṛ. V., X, 72, 3. It is not valid to hold Uttanapāda as a primitive creator of Yogin.

has been credited with omniscience from the very birth. In the *Ṛgveda* hymn of Lopāmudrā and Agastya the powers acquired by continence are referred to.[10] The practice of continence is an important element in Yoga. The famous *brahmacarya sūkta* of the *Atharvaveda* is a classic sulogy in praise of the power of continence. It asserts that with the aid of *brahmacarya* and *tapas* the gods were able to conquer death.[11] Western indologists, trained in and imbued with different cultural values, have thoroughly misunderstood the significance of this theme.[12] It incorporates in immensely powerful terms one of the essential elements of the higher ethics and culture of India which unfailingly advocates the efficacy of discipline, austerities and sex control. The advocacy of purity and continence is the perennial theme of Indian ethics and spirituality. In the later developed theory and practice of Yoga, great stress has been laid upon the cultivation of the status of *Ūrdhvaretas*—one who succeeds in transforming his lower sensual energy into higher spiritual power. In the technical language of the Yoga it is called the elevation of *vīrya* from the *mūlādhāra-cakra* to the *sahasrāra-cakra*. It will not be historically wrong to guess that the exaltedness and emotional fervour with which the efficacy of the technics of *brahmcarya* and *tapas* are lauded in the *Atharva-veda* indicate that the germs of the later ideas of Yogic mysticism were prevalent at that time.

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[10] Ṛ. *V*. 1, 179.

[11] Referring to the Brahmacāriṅ, the *Ṛgveda*, X 109, 5, says *sa devānām bhavatyekamaṅgam*.

[12] Some critics tend to dismiss Yoga as mental aberration or a pathological nervous reaction. But in India, some of its greatest men, from the times of the Vedas to Dayānanda and Rāmakrishna, have recognized the superiority of the technics of Yoga for mental peace and quiet. Some of the Western thinkers like Pthagoras, Plato, Plotinus and the Gnostics accepted the efficacy of mental concentration. In ancient India the belief prevailed that spiritual exercises of an esoteric character reveal the fullness of inner life.

The goal of the various processes and technics of Yoga in later Indian thought is either the realization of the emancipated transparent character of the Puruṣa or the mystic unitive realization of the supreme spirit. Although in the early stages of Indian thought the aim of the Yoga was the enhancement of the physical and mental powers of the person who employed those technics, there are some references in the Vedic literature which can be regarded as forestalings of the later notions regarding mystic union with the Godhead. In one of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* there is a reference to two puruṣas who are *sayuja* and *sakhāya*.[13] This may imply that enlightened fellowship with the Godhead, on the part of the individual soul, is mentioned in this particular hymn. This interpretation gains ground from the fact that this hymn is also mentioned in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*.

The famous *muni-sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* is also important from the standpoint of later developments of ideas regarding the Yoga.[14] The *muni* is regarded as traversing the path of Apsarasas, the Gandharvas and the beasts of the wild forests. He is regarded as dwelling in the eastern and western oceans. This power of the *muni* to roam at will in different regions and paths may be the root of the later notion prevalent both in the *Yoga-Sūtras* of Patanjali as well as in the Buddhist literatures that the Yogin developes supernormal powers which generate the faculty of untrammelled movement at will. Buddha claims to have the capacity to move in celestial and atmospheric regions. In this *sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* the hairs of the *muni* are said to be long. His garments have a yellow appearance. This reference to the yellow garments of the *muni* perhaps forestall the later monastic dress of the Buddhist monks. The *Ṛgveda* also refers to the dirt spread over the person

[13] Ṛ. *V.*, I, 164, 20. [14] Ṛ. *V.*, X, 130.

and garments of the *muni*.[15] This dirt may be the ashes which are spread over the Yogins. Some of the Jaina antiquarians hold that this Vedic reference has relevance to the Jaina sādhus.[16] Although the *muni-sūkta* is an isolated production of its type and does not fall in line with the worship of gods and the performance of the sacrifices that occupy so large a part of the Vedic religious system,[17] it is remarkable in the definite hint that it explicitly provides for the existence of a class of people who can safely be considered the prototypes of the later sannyāsins and bhikkhus. Researches into ancient history and archaeology are pointing out to us the remote and antique character of monasticism as an institution. In ancient Babylonia there used to be virgin priestesses who devoted themselves to intellectual and cultural pursuits and lived a sequestered religious life. The institution of these sacred virgins was developed to so great an extent that for maintaining their independent economic status they even carried on trade and commerce. Madame Blavatsky has pointed to the existence of mystic rites and esoteric cults in ancient Egypt in her book *Isis Unveiled*. Sri Aurobindo also refers to the existence of mystery sects in ancient Egypt. Seen in the context of the religious life of Babylonia and Egypt, the *muni sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* may point to the existence of a class of people who later became important in Indian religion as Yāyāvaras, bhikkhus etc.

The Vrātyas referred to in the *Atharvaveda* represents another institution of the religious world.[18] The Vrātyas are somewhat like the Yogins.[19] They are referred to as

[15] Ṛ V., X, 136, 2

[16] References to Jaina Yoga are contained in the *Ācārāṅga*, *Uttarādhyāna*, Umāswāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, etc.

[17] In the *Ṛgveda viii*. 17, 14, occurs *Indro munīnām sakhā*.

[18] *Ath. V.*, 15, 1.

[19] Sometimes the Vrātyas are represented as pre-Āryans and some-times as Indo-Āryans. They have been also represented as Kṣatriya Yogins.

flourishing in the eastern region. This also is a remarkable hintfrom the standpoint of the origins of Buddhism because it was in eastern India that the monastic sects of Buddhism and Jainism flourished.[20] The Vrātyas engaged themselves in ecstatic practices. Most probably the Vrātyas operated outside the pale of Brāhmanism and were recipients of the favour and patronage of Kṣatriya kings.

Another significant idea about Yoga referred to in the *Atharvaveda* is the mention of the "eight cakras". *Cakra* or plexus is a key concept in the later philosophy and practices of Haṭhayoga. The Atharvavedic reference to the eight cakras and nine doors of the human body is of considerable significance in so far as it proves that the *Atharvaveda* is not merely a work of magic but it also has theosophic and mystic-philosophic doctrines.[21]

Fasting is an important element in the practice of Yoga. It is resorted to for the control of the body and for mental purification. Fasting is a Vedic idea[22] and also appears as an important preparation for the various sacri-

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[20] According to Harprasad Sāstry, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. No. 1, (March, 1933), pp. 340 ff., the Vrātyas were of Āryan stock but were considered degraded. They could be taken back into the Āryan community by undergoing some purificatory ceremonies. Such re-Āryanized and non-Āryanized Vrātyas were a fruitful source for the production of anti-Āryan heterodox ideas. The existence of the Vrātyas in eastern India made it a fit place for the growth of the unorthodox speculations of the Buddhists, the Jainas and Ājīvikas.

[21] The *Atharvaveda* has a syncretic character. It contains the roots of: (i) theosophic and cosmogonic ideas, (ii) the ideas of asceticism and of Yogic practices which were later developed in Haṭhayoga, (iii) other notions and ideas and religious practices that were later developed by the school of the Tantra in medieval India, (iv) primitive magical notions. According to S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 20, "The Tantras which deal specifically with Yogic sādhanā or discipline and have influenced the lives of some communities from the time of the Rigveda. . . . ."

[22] Ṛ. *V.*, 1, 179.

fices in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[23] Buddhism also stressed fasting on certain days.

The Brāhmaṇas contain formulas and technics about sacrifices. They do not develop the notions regarding Yoga.

Even the Āraṇyakas, of which only some have come to light, do not contain any additional information regarding Yoga although it is possible that one of the teachers of the Āraṇyakas—Mahidāsa Aitareya lived for one hundred and sixteen years and resorted to some of the practices of Yoga.[24]

3. YOGA AND THE UPANIṢADS

With the advance of the Upaniṣadic philosophy, there was the rise of the idea of spiritual absolutism. The realization of the transcendent bliss of the ultimate spiritual real through philosophical contemplation is the central tenet of the Upaniṣads and it is this idea that has been developed in the system of Vedānta.[25] In his comments on one of the *Vedānta-Sūtras*[26] Śaṅkara has recognized the supremacy of the Vedantic methodology to the practices inculcated in the dualistic system of Sāṇkhya-Yoga. But it is made clear from Śaṅkara's comments on another Vedānta-Sūtra[27] that he means to criticise only the dualistic metaphysics of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy and is willing to recognize the efficacy of Yogic technics referred to in some

[23] The *Chāndogya Up.*, vi, 7, refers to the fast undertaken by Śvetaketu.

[24] Bidhuśekhara Bhattacharya, in the *Basic Conception of Buddhism*, p. 6, strongly advocates the pre-Buddhistic origins and development of Yoga. See also S. N. Das Gupta, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 227.

[25] In the Upaniṣadic triple formula of *Śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* it can be argued that the last refers to the intensity of Yogic absorption.

[26] The *Vedānta-Sūtra* is योगिनः प्रति च स्मर्यते, स्मार्ते चैते—(*B. S.* 4, 2, 21).

[27] See Śaṅkara's commentary on the *VedāntaSūtra*. (*B. S*. 2, 1.3,).

of the Upaniṣads like the *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara* as preparations for the knowledge of the supreme reality.[28] The essential teachings regarding Yogic practices of the Pātañjala system and of the Upaniṣads like the *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara* are similar. It is to be stressed, however, that the fundamental emphasis of the Upaniṣads and of the Vedānta is not on external practices but on inner contemplation and meditation. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* there is the mention of the practice of establishing all the sense-organs in the *Ātman—ātmani sarvendriyaṇi sampratiṣṭhāphya*.[29] This practice is similar to the concept of *pratyāhāra* mentioned in the Yoga system of Patañjali.

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* inculcates the restraint of the external working of mind and speech.[30] Mind should be merged in the knowledge-Self (*Vijñāna Ātma*), the knowledge-self into the Great-Self (*Mahān Ātma*).[31] This ideal of progressive merging into the spheres of ever-inclusive realities is considered the essence of Upaniṣadic Yoga. The stoppage of the operations of mind and intellect is the consumation or the highest fulfilment—*paramām gatim*. The teachings of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* are comprised by it under two words, *vidyā* and *yogavidhi*.[32] This implies a synthesis of the highest luminous knowledge and the technics of the Yoga. This Upaniṣad also refers to the *suṣumnā* through which the soul of the Yogin is supposed to

[28] According to the Upaniṣads the technic of *tapas* is the way for the attainment of the *loka* or region of the fathers and does not lead to emancipation. The *devayāna* is the way leading to the realization of Brahman. In the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* 1, 2, king Bṛhadratha even after rigorous austerities is represented as being far from attaining the liberating gnosis. Vijñānbhikṣu, however, tries to link the Yoga system with the spiritual knowledge of the Upaniṣads.

[29] *Ch. Up.*, viii, 15.

[30] Cf. the *Kauśītaki Upaniṣad* where Pratardana is said to have discovered a novel method of self-control known as *antaram agnihotram*.

[31] *Kaṭha Up.*, iii, 13.

[32] *K. U.*, VI 10-18.

depart to the higher worlds.[33] Some of the Upanisads are very rich in physiological researches[34] and here we find one instance. These later physiological insights and researches were systematized in the medieval systems of Haṭhayoga and the works of Āyurveda.

The *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara* are later productions in the field of Upaniṣadic literature[35] and that accounts for the fact that they have incorporated many new elements of Yogic practices which had gained popularity. The *Śvetāśvatara*[36] states that the place where Yogic practices are to be cultivated should be level, free from pebbles, fire or gravel. It also recommends that the presence of water is conducive to thought.[37] It regards a secluded place as necessary for contemplation. In the *Ṛgveda*, Vipras are said to have attained intellectual perfection in the crevasses of mountains and at the confluence of rivers. The *Śvetāśvatara* refers to the attainment of physical experiences which are preliminary to the realization of Brahman—the experiences of fog, smoke, sun, winds, fire, fireflies, lightning, crystal and the moon.[38] It emphatically states that the Yogin conquers disease, old age and death.[39] It may be pointed

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[33] *K. U.*, VI, 16.

[34] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 1, refers to seventy two thousand channels called hitā which lead from the heart to the pericardium.

[35] E. H. Johnston, *Early Saṃkhya*, points out that the relevant parts of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* are hardly earlier than the 4th cent. B. C., while the sixth Valli may be a later addition.

[36] The second chapter of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* contains the psychology and technics of Yoga. The chapter begins with prayers to the god Savitṛ, adapted from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. According to the *Śvetāśvatara*, 1, 14, *svadeha* and *praṇava* are regarded as the two *araṇi* for *dhyānanirmathanabhyaḥ*. This amounts to the advocacy of the middle path which is intermediate between physical askesis and mental meditation. Some of the Upaniṣads are emphatic in their belief that Yoga leads to illumination-*Jāgṛvadbhiḥ*. They also refer to the practice of *prāṇāyāma* and mention the concept of *vāmana*.

[37] *S. V. Up.*, 11, 10.

[38] *Ibid.*, ii.

[39] *Ibid.*, 12.

out that these are the specific specimens of deep sorrow which had made Gautama Buddha restless. Buddha left his ancestral home to find a way out of sorrow and here the Upaniṣad categorically state that through the mystic union with the Godhead the terror of these elements—disease, old-age and death, is neutralised and the Yogin becomes immune against their attacks.

The *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* marks a further step in the advancement of the ideas and technics of Yoga.[40] Here we find the ideal of superconsciousness or *turīyāvasthā* referred to.[41] It refers to the process of a "higher concentration". It states that by pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate by controlling voice, mind and speech one can see the Brahman through contemplation. Here we find the idea of synthesis between the technics of Yoga and the Vedāntic method of meditation.[42] The *Maitrāyaṇi* also refers to other Yogic practices like closing the ears by the thumb.[43] In the tradition of the Upaniṣads which exalt the contemplation of the *udgītha* and the *praṇava*[44], the *Maitrāyaṇi* also inculcates the merit of repeating the sacred syllable *Om*.[45] Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtra* also recognises the efficacy of meditating on *Om*.[46]

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[40] The *Maitrāyaṇi*, VI, 18, refers to the *ṣaḍaṅga* (six limbs) of Yoga. *Tarka* or delibrative reasoning is included here as one of the elements of Yoga. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* also refers to meditation of three degrees or through reasoning.

[41] *Maitrāyaṇi* Up. *vi*, 19.

[42] Vijñānabhikṣu in later times attempted to bring the technology of Yoga in affiliation with the theosophy of the Upaniṣads.

[43] *Ibid.*, VI, 22.

[44] The Upaniṣads refer to the concentration on other mystic words as *tadvanam* and *tajjalam*.

[45] *Ibid.*, VI, 24. For references to *Om* in the Upaniṣads; *Ch. up.* 1, 1, *T. U.*, 1, 8, *Katha Up.*, 11, 17 and *Śv. U.* 1, 14.

[46] It is a little disturbing to find that some of the later Upaniṣads, like the *Jābāla* 5, and the *Manthaśruti*, 4, should sanction religious suicide.

4. YOGA AND EARLY BUDDHIST RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

After leaving his ancestral home in Kapilavastu, Buddha restlessly searched for truth and wisdom. For the satisfaction of his quest he tried numerous methods. He also practised Yoga.[47] Alara Kalam taught him the technics leading to the realization of *akiñcanya-āyatana* (the realization of resplendent regions).[48] Uddaka Ramaputta taught him a further stage of Yoga. He taught him the mystic process leading to *naivasañjña-nasañjña-āyatana* (the realm of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness).[49] Buddha was not satisfied with these technics. He regarded them inadequate for the realization of *nirveda*, *virāga*, *nirodha*, *upāśama*, *abhijñā*, *sambodha* and *nirvāṇa*. Hence, he fell back upon his own efforts.

Buddha's historicism and traditionalism was fully revealed by his adherence to the technics and practices of Yoga.[50] The famous Āryan eightfold way refers to *dhyāna*[51] and *samādhi*. The early Buddhist scriptures refer to the four dhyānas. (i) In the first *dhyāna* the Yogin concentrates

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[47] For details of early Buddhists Yoga the following Suttas of the *Majjhima Nikāya* may be consulted :—Anapana Satti, Kayagatha Sati, Cula-Śūnyatā, Mahā-Śūnyatā, Uddesa-bibhaṅga, etc. The Sati-Patthana Suttanta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* which belongs to the oldest portions of the Buddhist literature also contains important ideas regarding self-concentration. In Sen Buddhism there was increasing stress on *dhyāna*. In the Yogācāra school of thought Buddhistic ideas were combined with the practice of Yoga.

[48] According to .Saunders, *Gatama Buddha*, "eight stages of meditation were taught by Alāra to Gautama (*Jātakas*, Vol. 1, pp. 65-69).

[49] For a different view see E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 184-5. Cf. the concept of *Śūnya-cintana* in the *Sutta Nipāta*, 1117 and 1119 and *Majjhima Nikāya*, III. 294.

[50] According to H. Beckh, *Buddhismus*, Buddhism is through and through nothing but Yoga.

[51] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, "The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1927), says that originally *dhyāna* (the practice of rapt musing) was a mode of converse with the other world, later on, it was regarded as a mode of mental exercise only.

his mind on reasoning (*vitarka*) and investigation (*vicāra*) and this leads to the joy of detachment and serene thought. (ii) In the second *dhyāna* there is a stoppage of conscious reflection. Concentration, however, continues and the consequence is the attainment of ecatasy and serenity. (iii) The third *dhyāna* produces a state comparable to what is termed *udāsīnavat āsīnaḥ* in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In this stage the joy which attends on concentration in the first and second *dhyāna* is also transcended. In this stage the Yogi attains perfect tranquility, equanimity and bodily ease. Lust of self is completely conquered in this stage. (iv) The fourth *dhyāna* results in the absolute conquest of all sense of elation and joy. It is a state of total indifference to all kinds of feelings. It is the state of the *ārhat*. The full absorption in this stage results in the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. According to the *Maha-Saccaka Sutta* and the *Bodhirajakumara sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya* Buddha had undergone the experience of *caturdhyāna* prior to his enlightenment under the sacred tree.[52] The *Pasa-rasi Sutta*, on the other hand, only refers to the fact that Buddha sat at a place in Uruvela Senani Nigama near a river that was flowing nearby and attained *nirvāṇa*. Here there is mention of his having resorted to *dhyāna* but the fourfold scheme of *dhyāna* is not mentioned.

The four-fold *dhyāna* is one of the significant contri-

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[52] According to C. A. F. Rhys Davids, "A Dynamic Conception of Man", *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI (1939-40), pp. 235 ff., *dhyāna* or *jhaāa* is a preparation for developing the *abhijñā* of clairvoyance and *clairaudience*. It necessitates the cultivation of *sati* or *avilapanata* which indicate absence of superficiality of mind and the attentive alertness of will and cognition. In another paper "Dhyana in Early Buddhism", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (1927), Vol. III, C.A.F. Rhys Davids denies that *dhyāna* means meditation. According to her early Buddhist *dhyāna* is a deliberate putting off (*pahāna*) of applying and sustaining thought. What is stated to be left is *sati* (*smṛti*) or lucid awareness. It appears that C. A. F. Rhys Davids is unnecessarily trying to appear too clever. Heiler accepts a mystical interpretation of *dhyāna*.

butions to the psychic science of Yoga[5] . Its systematic presentation and its explicit mention of mental categories indicate the deep researches that must have been made in this field.[54] In the *Yoga-Sūtras* of Patañjali also a scheme almost the same as the one discussed here is found and that raises the historical problem of the relative priority of the Buddhistic or the Pātañjala scheme. It is not far-fetched to hold that both may have borrowed from a third common source.[55]

Besides the four-fold *dhyāna* a second categorical scheme in the field of Buddhistic Yoga is that of the four *brahmavihāra* or sublime occupations. Buddha in the *Tejja Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* refers to the cultivation of four exalted psychological moods: love and kindness (*Maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*). cheerfulness (*muditā*) and impartiality (*upekṣā*)[56].

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[53] The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* has given a different scheme of the four *dhyāna—bālopcārika*, *arthapṛavicāya*, *tathatālambana* and *tathāgata*.

[54] In the early Buddhist literature, Anuruddha, Revata and Subhuti are regarded as experts in *dhyāna*. See the *Therāgāthā* CCLVI, 3, 1. Sariputta, Moggalana and Nanda also were adepts in *dhyāna*.

[55] According to Senart, *Origines Bouddhiques*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1907, (translated into English by M. Roy, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930), Buddhism is undoubtedly the borrower from Viṣṇuism and Yoga. He says that the moral tendencies of the Yoga when transported in metaphysical domain could easily give rise to the nihilism of Buddhism. He also points but that it is due to the prominence of the elements of Yoga in Buddhism that Aśoka calls the faithful *yuta* and *dhammayuta*. It is a testimony to the persistent recollection of the origin of Buddhism from Yoga ,system. Senart asserts that Gautama Buddha was a Yogin brought up in the practices of a Yoga-system which received its final form in the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

[56] Cf. the Indiya-Bhavana Suttanta of the *Majjhima Nikaya*: According to Warren, *Buddhism in translations*. pp. 282-283. "The states (*smapatti*) in the Buddhist system of meditation were of importance not merely as a means for arriving at Nirvāṇa, but the release they afforded from the sense-percepts and the concrete was so highly esteemed that they were looked upon as luxuries and enjoyed as such by the saints and by the Buddha himself". C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 23, points out that the exercise of the *Brahmavihāra*, according to the testimony of the Nikāyas (*S. N.*, V 115 ff.) were not originally or at least not exclusively Buddhist.

Buddhaghosa is one of the great systematizers of the teachings of early Buddhism. He states that the higher life has three phases—(i) *adhicitta* or concentration. There are forty subjects noted by Buddhaghosa on which concentration can be practised. There are ten *Kasina*, ten impurities, ten reflections, four *brahmavihāra*, four *arupadhyāna*, one perception (that all nourishment is impure) and one analysis (the analysis that all things consist of four elements). These constitute the forty entities on which *adhicitta* is to be practised. But *adhichitta* is not indispensable for *nirvāṇa*. *Śamatha* or peace constitutes the second phase of the higher life. The third phase is *adhiprajña* or *vipaśyanā*. It provides insight and is indispensable for *nirvāṇa*. This triology of *adhicitta*, *śamatha* and *adhiprajña* established by Buddhaghosa seems to be a reformulation of the earlier Buddhist triology of *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajña-Śamatha* is exactly the same as *samādhi*. *Adhiprajña* or *vipaśyanā* is only another term for *prajñā*.[57] There are differences, however, between *adhicitta* and *śila*. While *śīla* is the name of a code of moral rules for the lay adherents as well as for the bhikkhus, *adhicitta* is a system of concentration and thus it pertains not to the field of ethics but to that of Yoga and mysticism. Buddhaghosa's contribution in having formulated this scheme lies not in the field of original construction but in that of systematization of a large body of ideas regarding mental discipline.[58]

5. BUDDHISM AND PĀTAÑJALA YOGA

There are some remarkable resemblances between the conceptions of Yoga of the Pātañjala system and the

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[57] According to the Sutta piṭaka, *prajñā* is allied to *vijnaññā*. The Abhidharma would comprehend *prajñā* under the comprehensive category of *samskāra*. The view that one form of *prajññā—divyacakṣu*, can be classed under *rūpaskandha* is considered a heretical proposition according to the *Kathāvatthu*.

[48] For the Sautrāntika and Vasubandhu's conception of *samaptti*, see the. Stchervatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 23.

Buddhistic thought.[59] Both accept that through Yoga there is the extinction of pain. In both the systems the practice of Yoga is defined and stressed without any reference to a Godhead. Buddha is silent about a Godhead if not absolutely atheistic. According to Patañjali belief in God is one of the alternative paths to the attainment of *samādhi*. Both the systems, however, accept the concept of *samādhi*. According to Patañjali, through the practice of Yoga there is a loss of the sense of *asmitā* or egoism. In Buddhism there is no recognition of any soul substance.[60] But it also states that with the perfection in the practice of Yoga the least clinging to any egoism or any false sense of attachment is neutralized.[61] Moreover there is both ideological and terminological similarity between the Buddhist ideal of *nirvāṇa* and Patañjali's view that Yoga is practised for the *nirodha*, suppression or ultimate extinction of the mental states. The ideal of the elimination of sense-impressions is accepted in both the systems. Both the schools use *bhūmi* to mark the progress made in religious endeavours. From the numerical standpoint there is some parallelism between the Āryan eightfold way and the *aṣṭāṅga* Yoga of Patañjali, because the number eight is exalted in both.

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[59] Woods, *The Yoga System of Patanjali* points out the historical importance of Yoga texts as forming a bridge between the philosophy of ancient India and the fully developed Indian Buddhism and the religious thought of to-day in Eastern Asia. He also says that the Yoga system, together with the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, when grafted upon the simple practical exhortations of practical Buddhism, serves as an introduction to the logical and metaphysical masterpieces of Mahāyāna. According to Jacobi the *Yoga-Sūtra* is definitely influenced by Buddhist *Vijñānavāda* and is probably later than Vasubandhu.

[60] In Buddhism the stress is on the purification of mind. In the Brahmanical schools of Yoga, on the other hand, the substantialist conception of man is always adhered to.

[61] According to E. H. Johnston, *Early Samkhya*, the Buddhist view of Yoga is not the suppression of the senses while in the Brahamanical view the stress is on complete supression of the senses (See the *Bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-Sūtra*, II, 55).

6. YOGA AND INDIVIDUALISM IN INDIAN CULTURE

In the early periods of the development of Yoga, it was resorted to mainly for exhilaration and for the enhancement of physical and vital powers. From the beginning, Yoga had an individualistic orientation because it resulted in the production of mighty individuals who should assert themselves against the taboos and commands of the community. In the later phases of its development the Yoga became a technic of intellectual illumination. The use of Yoga for increasing physical and vital powers became more and more associated with the practices of Haṭhayoga. According to the Upaniṣads the attainment of supreme wisdom is the aim of the spiritual aspirant. According to Buddhism the final goal of moral efforts (*śīla*) and concentration (*samādhi*) is the attainment of *prajñā* or cognitive illumination. In the school of Patañjali also there is the acceptance of the ideal of the attainment of *ṛtambharā prajñā* through the practice of the processes of Yoga. Thus in all the three schools of thought—the Upaniṣads, Buddhism and Pātañjala Yoga, the aim of the Yoga is considered to be cognitive perfection. This dominantly intellectual orientation of Yoga further intensifies its original individualistic character. Perfection in Yoga is consequent upon an increasing isolation not only from the claims and obligations of the society but also from the physical proximity of other citizens. In place of the king's court or the republican motehall, or the sacrificial altar, the places that the Yogi frequents are the caves of the mountains, the confluence of rivers, burning ghats and other secluded quarters. Thus the Yogi is the representation of the ideal of perfect individualism. Yoga thus, has significantly contributed to the growth of individualism in Indian culture.

"MAHĀBHĀRATA"—ANCIENT INDIAN EPIC

By N. VISHNEVSKAYA

The Soviet people take a keen interest in the life of the Indian people and their culture. It is not accidental that the "*Mahābhārata*", one of the greatest epic poems of ancient times, from which many Indian poets, artists, composers seek inspiration still today, has been the object of researches by both Russian Indologists in the past and present-day Soviet and Indian scholars.

Russian readers first made their acquaintance with this gem of ancient Indian culture in 1788 when the first translation of the "*Bhagavad-gītā*" was published in Petersburg (now Leningrad), and attracted great attention. Russian poets, artists, composers began to turn more and more to the ideas and themes of the "*Mahābhārata*'. The popularisation of this poem in Russia was greatly promoted by the poet V. Zhukovsky, who in 1842 published his translation of "Nala and Damayantī."

All the early translations, however, suffered from a very serious shortcoming, irrespective of the skill and experience of their authors. They were all made from a German interlinear translation and not from Sanskrit.

Translations of separate books and stories from the "*Mahābhārata*" were first made from Sanskrit after the Revolution. Here mention should be made of the pleiad of brilliant Soviet Indologists whose work is closely connected with the Leningrad University. The founders of the scientific school of Russian Indology are Academicians O. Oldenburg, F. Shcherbatskoy, A. Barannikov.

The first translation from Sanskrit of "Ādiparva"—the first book of the "*Mahābhārata*"—made with a strictly scientific approach, was the work of V. Kalyanov, a pupil

of Academician A. Barannikov. In 1950, this book was printed by the publishing house of the *USSR Academy of Science*. A distinguishing feature of the translation is that it does not claim to convey adequately, through the means and forms of the Russian language, the literary merits of the Sanskrit original. The author pursued a more specific, but no less complicated, task to produce a work, scientifically grounded and as close as possible to the original. This translation is of great interest to Soviet Indologists.

Academician B. Smirnov holds a special place among Soviet translators from Sanskrit. A biologist by speciality, he devotes all his leisure time to work on Sanskrit texts. At present, although bed-ridden owing to a serious illness, he continues to work on translations. Academician Smirnov regards the completion of full translation of the "*Mahābhārata*" as the work of his life.

In 1955 the first volume of his translations appeared. It contained "The Tale of Nala" and "Matrimonial Fidelity." The text is prefaced by articles of great scientific interest, written by Smirnov. They deal with the structure and form of these poems, the social and historical characteristics of the epoch in which they were composed, and a literary and artistic analysis.

In 1956, a translation of the "*Bhagavad-gītā*" appeared, supplied with the author's comments on the translation and his articles on the rhythm of the poem and its different wordings and versions.

The year of 1957 was marked by the appearance of a translation of "The Hillman.'

All the previous translations, however, are not easily understandable to the wide masses of readers owing to their narrow scientific trend. Besides, no version of a complete translation of the poem has hitherto been published.

But quite recently a book entitled "*The Mahābhārata, An Ancient Indian Legend*, being a narration of the whole

poem, was published. Its author, Georgi Ilyin, senior scientific worker of the *Institute of Oriental Studies* of the *USSR Academy of Sciences*, and a graduate of the Moscow State University has a good knowledge of several foreign languages including Sanskrit.—He is a serious scholar who is steadily maturing and has an independent approach to the historical theme.

G. Ilyin began to make a profound study of the '*Mahābhārata*' in Sanskrit in 1953. During three years he read all the 18 books of the poem. At first, he did not plan to write a separate book about it, but as he proceeded with his work his interest grew. He conceived an interesting idea—to make the contents of the poem available to the broad masses. His book is by no means a major research, it is the story of the '*Mahābhārata*" re-told in popular style which makes it understandable to the reader who is not versed in the history of India or her literature. In his book, written in good literary style G. Ilyin adheres strictly to the compositional structure of the poem. His work includes all the 18 books of the "*Mahābhārata*" (he leaves out the 19th). He devotes special attention to the basic thread of the plot of the poem—the struggle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, the descendants of the mythological king Bharata. The book also devotes the necessary attention to the stories of "Śakuntalā", "The flood," "The Four Centuries" and "Nala and Damayanti". The author has simplified the complicated figurative style of the language of the poem without detriment to its artistic merits. He does not clutter up the book with the names of characters unimportant in portraying the basic canvas of the theme. And this makes it easier to read, simpler and more comprehensible.

To the Soviet reader the book will be of interest also because of its preface, the geographical map of ancient India attached to it, and also the unique illustrations which

the author succeeded with great difficulty in obtaining. Among them are a miniature of the legendary author of the "*Mahābhārata*", Vyāsa, portraits of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas and their wives, and photographs of the Madras temples.

At present, Georgi Ilyin is editing and checking the "Laws of Manu", which he translated in 1913. This highly interesting monument of ancient Indian literature is now being prepared for the press in the Soviet Union.

THE DOCTRINE OF KARANA IN GRAMMAR-LOGIC

By Prof. Bimal Krishna Motilal

Logic is intimately related to grammar. Logical procedure includes an analysis of language, i.e. words and sentences. Indian Logic is sometimes designated as the *Pramāṇa Śāstra*. Now what is Pramāṇa ? The answer in brief is this : Pramāṇa, as the etymology of the word indicates, is *Pramā-karaṇa*. i.e., the instrumental cause to what is known as Pramā. The suffix 'lyuṭ' has been used here in karaṇavācya. Thus, we come to another question, What is Kāraṇa ? Or, to be more clear what actually is this Kāraṇatā or instrumentality by which a thing is designated as Kāraṇa of something ?

Kāraṇa from the point of view of Grammar, is one of the Kārakas or cases; and from the point of view of Logic it is a special type of Kāraṇa or cause. Thus, Kāraṇa is Kārakatvavyāpyadharma (a property pervaded by the generic property Kārakatva) and also a Kāraṇatvavyāpyadharma (a property pervaded by the generic property Kāranatva). By Kārakatva, the grammarians understand certain relations of the nouns to the verb of a sentence. Generally as many as six essential relations of nouns to the verb are expressed in a sentence. These six specific relations are grouped under the generic name, Kāraka. One cannot exactly say that these six relations exhaust the list of all the possible relations of nouns to a verb in a sentence. It is safe to say that Kāraka is a technical name given to these six specific relations almost arbitrarily chosen. Kāraṇa as a Kāraka is directly related to a verb. And as Kāraṇa or cause has always a reference to some non-eternal entity (excluding Prāgabhava from this) which is called Kārya, being so regarded as the effect or result of a complex of causes. There are causes to produce an effect

or event. but all causes are not individually so many Kāraṇas. Let us take certain concrete illustration of Kāraṇa. We use sentences like "kuṭhāreṇa chinatti" (cutting a tree with an axe), taking the axe as the instrumental cause and therefore, adding instrumental case-ending to it to express the instrumental sense. In English prepositions like "with" or "by" are generally used to denote instrumental sense in such cases. Thus, axe is regarded as a typical example of Kāraṇa with reference to the present event e.g. felling of a tree. As a product, this event is a result of a complex of causes. But of those so called causes axe enjoys special position by virtue of which it is regarded as karaṇa, and not a kāraṇa simply. Karaṇa has thus, been defined as the asādhāraṇa Kāraṇa, or the unique or uncommon cause. But wherein lies its uniqueness or uncommonness? To be precise, what is the actual position of the axe in relation to the effect ? In what relation does it stand to this felling of the tree ? Enquiry into this line, I think, will reveal the true nature of karaṇa.

That karaṇa is a kāraka *par excellence*, or more clearly, a kāraṇa *par excellence*, is accepted by almost all scholars unanimously. But regarding the true character of this exellence or supremacy of karaṇa over other causes, opinions vary. One school of thought (propounded, perhaps, by Uddyotakara first and then expounded by other scholars) assuming karaṇa as the most efficient of all causal conditions, defines it as that cause which is immediately connected with the effect or Phala (Phalopadhāyakam kāraṇam). The most efficient cause, according to them, is the most effective cause i.e. to say, that which finally precedes the effect. Thus, karaṇa in this view, is the final (carama) cause, a cause which finally effects the effect. To be more clear karaṇa is that cause which is distinguished from all other causes that are not immediately connected with the effect (Phalāyogavyavacchinna-kāraṇam). It follows that karaṇa is

such that, it being present the result must necessarily and immediately follow (karaṇa ca-tat-yasmin-sati-kriyā bhavatyeva).[1] To take for example, in the case of felling a tree, the effective contact between the axe and the tree will be the final cause and hence, it is a karaṇa in this view Because this particular type of contact (vijātīya saṁyoga) causes the event itself without waiting for other conditions any more. Similarly, in case of visual perception, the final sense-object contact is regarded as the karaṇa.

This school takes a logical view of karaṇa as the chief cause. But one difficulty connected with this view is obvious. In popular language we take the axe as the karaṇa in felling a tree, and the eye as the karaṇa of visual perception. According to this view the axe or eye cannot be the karaṇa as they are not the final cause. In logical analysis we see that it is the axe's peculiar contact with the tree that finally causes its felling, and the sense-object contact that finally reveals an object of visual perception. Scholars subscribing to this view may come forward to meet this objection with a modified definition of karaṇa. It is that which causes the action denoted by the verb but not through the *via-media* of the operation (vyāpāra) belonging to a case (kāraka) other than itself (svabhinna)[2]. Thus, neither the agent (cutter) nor the object (tree) causes the action directly in this specified sense. The cutter does so only by making the axe function well, while the tree by making the function of the axe possible (because without tree, the axe cannot function upon). Only the axe has been directly (i.e. through its own operation) the cause of the felling of trees and not through any *via-media*. So it is a karaṇa and thus the popular usages are justified.

But a flaw in this argument is not far to seek. The axe cannot be the karaṇa according to the above definition

[1] *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Śabda Khaṇḍa

[2] *Kāraka-Cakra*.

F. 9

also. A relation is conditioned all alike by both the relata. The *vijātīya* contact between the axe and the tree is a relation which is also regarded as the operation (vyāpāra) under the present context and hence, necessarily conditioned by the tree also. Thus, the axe becomes the cause through the *via-media* of the operation (vyāpāra) belonging to a case (e.g. the tree) other than itself. So much a definition of karaṇa and along with it the attempt to include axe, even etc. (popular examples of karaṇa) under such definition become baffled, since according to this view, final cause immediately preceding the action is regarded as a karaṇa. In popular usage axe is regarded as karaṇa in a mere secondary sense, primary sense of karaṇa being the final cause (kūṭhārādau karaṇapadam gauṇam).[3]

The other school of thought (almost generally accepted by the Navya-Naiyāyikas) overcomes the said difficulty by interpreting the notion of excellence or asādhāraṇatva or uniqueness over other causes in a slightly difficult way. Karaṇa is that operating cause whose operation is directly effective, that is to say, immediately connected with the effect or Phala—

(Phalāyogavyavacchinnavyāpāravat kāraṇatvam[4])—operation or vyāpāra is technically defined as that which produces the final product itself being produced by the operator or vyāpārin in its turn (c.f. tajjanyatve sati tajjanya-janakatvam). It follows that karaṇa causes the effect through its own operation or vyāpāra which intervenes between the effect and its karaṇa. Thus there is no difficulty for axe or eye to be the karaṇas. The axe is vyāpāravat, its phalopadhāyaka-vyāpāra or directly effective operation being the *vijātīya* contact between the axe and the tree, and the eye is so, its contact with the object being its vyāpāra. Thus well known examples of karaṇa are justified accord-

[3] *Kāraka-Ca kra*

[4] *Anumiti Dīdhitiṭīkā—Gādādharī.*

ing to the present definition, while according to the previous definition the final cause (which is generally viewed as vyāpāra in present definition) is the karaṇa purely in its technical sense.

These two different theories are equally predominant among the scholars. The reason for their difference lies chiefly in their respective ideas of the excellence or efficiency (Prādhānya or atiśaya) of karaṇa as cause. One tries to justify the popular examples of karaṇa like axe etc. while the other neglects popular usages as mere grammatical convention. There is another view, hinted at by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and others which asserts that it is the *Sāmagrī* (the sum total of all causal conditions) which should be regarded as the karaṇa. No other causal condition, but the 'whole cause' or *Sāmagrī* deserves to be considered as the chief cause or supreme cause. Sāmagrī being present, product must follow. It follows from the very conception of Sāmagrī. Sāmagrī, therefore, is the karaṇa if karaṇa be viewed as the chief cause. This view, of course, involves certain logical difficulties regarding the exact nature of the Sāmagrī, pointed out by the Jain-writer, Pravācandra (in his *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*). Other writers of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school do not give much attention to this view of Jayanta, which proves that it does not find favour with them. It is clear that according to this view, we are to conceive of an 'ideal cause' composed of all the causal conditions—positive or negative, remote or proximate, which may reasonably be called 'the cause'. But whether the notion of karaṇa can *de jnre* be applicable to this, is a matter of different issue.

One thing is clear. The notion of karaṇa has been taken from grammar, which in its turn follows the usages of the people in language. And peoples' usages roughly crystallise their idea behind it. In logical analysis the *final cause argument*' may be thought as the best, 'the *Sāmagrī*

argument' may also gain some strength from an ideal view point. But 'the *Vyāpāravat argument*' or '*the axe argument* stands, in our opinion, certain crucial tests. Well known instances of karaṇa are generally classed under the *Nimitta-kāraṇa* or 'efficient cause'. (They can be best known as 'extrinsic efficient'.) Their importance in the production of an effect should not be under estimated.

Let us consider certain typical cases of kāryas that generally require a karaṇa. Kāryas are technically defined as the counter-positives of prior absence (prāgabhāvaprati-yogin) and as such they are either some dravya (c.f. pot), or some guṇa (c.f. Jñāna or knowledge), or some activity (c.f. throwing a stone) when positively considered and a negation by destruction i.e. posterior absence of a pot (ghaṭadhvaṁsa) when negatively considered. Take the case of a kārya-dravya, i.e. pot. Its material cause (sama-vāyi-kāraṇa) and along with it the so-called non-inherent causes (asamavāyi-kāraṇa) must be there, because pot is a material substance. For its production again some sort of activity should be generated in its materials producing their final conjunction (ārambhaka-saṁyoga), which implies that a willing agent (who is a nimittakāraṇa) must be there to give the starting push to these materials which are intrinsically without motion. (For our present discussion we leave aside the general nimittakāraṇas like adṛṣṭa, God's will, etc.). All these follow from the general nature of the case under consideration but simply these are not sufficient for the production of the effect. What more is wanting? There must be karaṇa along with its operation. What I intend to stress upon is this : the very notion of production of a dravya, say X, necessarily implies that there must be material along with its qualities as well as a producer, but not necessarily that insrtuments like rod, thread etc. along with their operations should be there. But without them the particular production will not follow.

Therein lies the causal efficiency of instruments like rod etc. which are called the karaṇas. Similarly, in case of perceptual knowledge, a knower must be there (for knowledge as a quality must need the substances to inhere into) and so also the object (for knowledge is always related to an object, and without a reference to object knowledge is meaningless). But is that all? No. What more is wanting is the sense-organ—the karaṇa (even *manas* may be included here). In the same way comes the utility of the hand as instrument in throwing a stone. Now the case of ghaṭadhvaṁśa by rod is also easy enough to explain. Dhvaṁśa is necessarily related to its Pratiyogin or counter positive (i.e. pot), without which it is meaningless. So the presence of the pot, a nimittakāraṇa is explained. Again, the notion of Dhvaṁśa implies an activity (kriyā) generated into the parts of the pot resulting into their final disjunction (vibhāga) by destroying their ultimate productive conjunction (arambhaka-saṁyoga). This activity needs an active agent as before. But what more? The instrument rod has also to be utilised, and thus deserves the name karaṇa. This is the asādhāraṇatva of kāraṇa as karaṇa, and hence, it is looked upon as kāraṇa *par excellence*.

I shall end with a popular illustration from ordinary life, which by a distant analogy, may to a certain extent at least, clarify my foregoing argument. Suppose Mr. Q who was ill, gets recovered and finds 4 persons (Mr. A, B, C, D) responsible for this, who are to be thanked. Mr. A happens to be his father who calls the doctor, Mr. B happens to be his servant who prepares the medicine, Mr. C is brother who administers the medicine, and Mr. D, the Doctor. While going to thank he finds the first 3 related to him in some way of other. Their relations goad them on their respective duties. But Mr. D, not related to him, comes from outside. Thus, he is the proper man to get thanks. So also our karaṇa gets thanks.

TRIṢAPTA

By Dr. G. V. Devasthali

This word has occured in the *Vedic Saṁhitās* only four times, once in the *Ṛgveda*[1] and thrice in the *Atharvaved*[2], and is always *oxytone*. Three of these passages have been commented upon by Sāyaṇa and we naturally turn to him for an explanation of the word *triṣapta*.

Commenting on the Ṛ. I. 133.6 Sāyaṇa explains the words '*Triṣaptaiḥ sattvabhiḥ*' by '*Tribhiḥ saptabhir vā sattvabhiḥ anucarair upetaḥ san īyase ity anvayaḥ*'. Here, evidently he is dissolving the expression *triṣapta* as a *saṅkhyā-bahuvrīhi* like *dvītra* or *tricatura* and taking it to signify either three or seven (i.e. some indefinite number). At the *AV*. I.1.1. he has spent much energy in offering different dissolutions of this expression and also in giving the names of the deities which are possibly meant by that expression. Thus we see him dissolving the expression in three different ways : (i) *Trayo vā sapta vā*, (ii) *Triḥ sapta*, or (iii) *Triguṇitā saptasaṅkhyā yeṣviti*. The second of these explanations is better than the first[3] since it yields a definite number (viz. 21) which the former does not do. But in this explanation we are unnecessarily restricted to '*three groups of seven each*' which have very much taxed the commentator's ingenuity. The third of the above explanations would seem to be the best of all and signifies merely the number twenty-one. It may be observed that at the *AV*. I-27.1. Sāyaṇa has ex-

1. Ṛ.*V*. I. 133.6

2. *A.V*. I. 1.1; 27.1; XIII. 1.3

3. The first explanation is also vitiated by the fact that nowhere in the *Saṁhitās* do we come across any compound of this variety. On the other hand in the YV. we get the expression *triṇava* which signifies '*thrice nine*' which would seem to speak in favour of the third explanation proposed by the commentator.

plained the expression only in one way[4] which tallies with the third explanation noted above.

This variety of explanations offered by the commentator clearly shows that he has no definite tradition to guide him in explaining this expression, and that he is depending merely on his erudition and ingenuity in doing so. This absence of definite tradition is again proved by another circumstance also. Having dissolved the expression in three different ways the commentator takes it on himself to say which exactly are meant by it. Thus with the first dissolution (viz. *trayo vā sapta vā*) he declares[5] that the three referred to may be the three worlds, the three *guṇas*, the three highest gods and the seven may be the seven seers, the seven planets, the seven worlds, the seven metres, etc. The Second way of dissolving the expression would make it mean '*Three groups of seven each*' and the commentator points out that the groups[6] thus meant to be referred to may be the seven suns, the seven priests and the seven Ādityas; or the seven rivers, the seven worlds, and the seven quarters; or the seven planets,

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[4] Cf. त्रिगुणितसप्तसंख्याका ये त्रिषप्ता इत्यत्रोक्ताः।

[5] Read: तदयमर्थः। पृथिव्यादयस्त्रयो लोकाः। तेषामधिष्ठातारोऽग्निवाय्वादित्याः। सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणाः। ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरा इत्येवमाद्यास्त्रिसंख्याक्रान्ता ये सन्ति ते सर्वेऽत्र त्रिशब्देन विवक्षिताः। तथा सप्त ऋषयः। सप्त ग्रहाः। सप्त मरुद्गणाः। सप्त लोकाः। सप्त छन्दांसि इत्याद्या ये सप्तसंख्याक्रान्ताः सन्ति ते सर्वेऽत्र सप्तशब्देनाभिमताः। त्रिसंख्याक्रान्ताः सप्तसंख्याक्रान्ता वा इति यावत्।

[6] Read: त्रिरावृत्तसप्तसंख्यायुक्ता इत्यर्थः।......ते चैवं द्रष्टव्याः प्रसिद्धसूर्याधिष्ठितप्राचीदिग्व्यतिरिक्ता आरोगादिभिः सप्तभिः सूर्यैरधिष्ठिताः सप्त दिशः। ते चारोगादयः तैत्तिरीयैरा नायन्ते। 'आरोगो भ्राजः पटरः पतंगः स्वर्णरो ज्योतिषीमान् विभासः।' इति। होतृप्रभृतयो वषट्कर्तारः सप्त ऋत्विजः 'मित्रश्च वरुणश्च। धाता चार्यमा च। अंशश्च भगश्च। इन्द्रश्च विवस्वांश्चेत्येते' इति श्रुत्यन्तरप्रसिद्धा विवस्वद्व्यतिरिक्ताः सप्तादित्या इति। तथा च मन्त्रवर्णः। 'सप्त दिशो नानासूर्याः सप्त होतार ऋत्विजः। देवा आदित्या ये सप्त।' इति। यद्वा सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त लोकाः सप्त दिशः इत्येवं त्रिसप्ताः। श्रूयते हि। 'यः सप्त सिन्धूनदधात् पृथिव्याम्। यः सप्त लोकानकृणोद्दिशश्च।' इति। सप्त ग्रहाः सप्त ऋषयः सप्त मरुद्गणा इति वा त्रिसप्ताः॥

the seven seers, and the seven Marut troops. The number twenty-one required by the third dissolution is made by him by giving two different lists[7]: (i) the twelve months, the five seasons, the three worlds, and the sun. and (ii) the five great elements, the five life-breaths, the five organs of sense, five organs of action, and one internal organ. The former he has derived from the *Taittirīya* Saṁhitā while the latter reminds us of the twenty-four *tattvas* of the Sāṅkhya to which it bears a good resemblance. All this effort on the part of the commentator, however, appears to be only a waste of so much energy when we find that in all the passages where the expression occurs some definite number seems to be meant by '*Thrice-seven*'. Whitney has discussed the sense of this expression in an article contributed to *Festgruss an Roth* (P. 94) and has summed up his position in his *Translation* of the *Atharvaveda* (P. 2) in the words. *At any rate they are gods, who are to render aid.*' But he does not say who these gods are or might be. Let us, therefore, study the passages where the expression has occurred in the *Saṁhitās* and try to determine which gods are meant to be signified by it.

The opening hymn of the *AV*. is a hymn addressed to *Bṛhaspati* for the retention of the sacred learning. In the very first stanza[8] of this hymn the author requests *Bṛaspati* to assign to him the powers—nay, the very selves—of '*the thrice seven that go about bearing all forms*'. Remembering the main theme of the hymn we shall not be far from right if we understand the *balā* or the *tanvaḥ*

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[7] Read: अथवा त्रिगुणिता सप्तसंख्या येष्विति बहुव्रीहिः। एकविंशतिसंख्याका इत्यर्थः। ते च 'द्वादश मासाः पञ्चर्तवस्त्रय इमे लोका असावादित्य एकविंशः' इति प्रसिद्धाः परिगृह्यन्ते। यद्वा शरीरारम्भकाणि पञ्च महाभूतानि पञ्च प्राणाः पञ्च ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाण्यन्तःकरणं चेति। एवमेकविंशतिसंख्याकाः प्रत्येतव्याः।

[8] ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि बिभ्रतः।
वाचस्पतिर्बला तेषां तन्वो अद्य दधातु मे॥ अ० वे०, I. 1·1.

of the *triṣaptāḥ* to be *śrutam*, which is repeatedly mentioned in the hymn. But then we are confronted with two questions : (i) what exactly is meant by the *śrutam* ? and (ii) Who are these twenty-one whose *balā* or *tanvaḥ* it constitutes ? Roth comapres the *AV*. VI. 41.1. and takes *śrutam* to mean '*sense of hearing*', while Whitney supposes it to signify 'one's acquired knowledge, portion of *śruti*'. Naturally, therefore, do these scholars differ in their interpretation of *triṣaptāḥ* which constitutes their answer to the second question noted above. The former understands the expression to signify '*the healthy hearers old and young*', while the latter explains it to mean '*the sounds or syllables of which the śruta is made up*'.

Neither of these explanations is satisfactory. Roth's explanation of *triṣaptāḥ* appears to be unsatisfactory, firstly because it does not make clear why these hearers should be called *triṣaptāḥ*, and also because it can't explain why these *triṣaptāḥ* are described as *going about bearing all forms*. Nor is Whitney's explanation any way better. The first difficulty in that explanation is regarding the number of the sounds of which *śruta* (i.e. *śruti*), is made up. His interpretation would make us believe that only twenty-one sounds are represented in *śruta*. But who can believe it when we find that even in the *RV*. (the oldest extant portion of *śruta*) none of the sounds represented in the *devanāgarī alphabet* is conspicuous by its absence ? It is possibly to avoid this difficulty that Whitney assumes that '*Triṣaptāḥ* is plainly used as the designation of an indefinite number' like the English expressions dozens or scores. But if *triṣaptāḥ* stands for sounds constituting the *śruta* (as Whitney takes it to be), it is quite possible to argue that the author could and should have given some definite (rather than an indefinite and vague) number. For the number of sounds constituting the *śruta* (or that constituting the language) was not quite unlimited or indefinite.

And if at all an indefinite number was to be conveyed, one may as well ask, why has the author used this particular term or expression which in other places he has used to signify the definite number twenty-one ?

Whitney appears to have missed the truth by a very narrow margin. *Śruta* does, indeed, signify *'acquired knowledge'* as Whitney explains it. It is so termed because, in keeping with the system of those ancient days, it was *acquired by oral tradition or transmission or by the ear*. It may thus be easily perceived that the *śruta* consists of sounds, so that it may be said to be identical with sounds (i.e. the various sounds that constitute it). Now going further we find that this *śruta* (i.e. the sounds) is said to be the *balā*—nay the *tanvaḥ*[9]—of the *triṣaptāḥ*. The *triṣaptāḥ*, therefore, are not the sounds themselves as suggested by Whitney. For as we have already seen above sounds only form their strength or essence (*balā*), or may be said to form their bodies (*tanvaḥ*). Now taking into consideration the characteristics of all the Vedic gods it may easily be realized that no other group of Vedic gods but the Maruts can be said to have sound for their strength or even their bodies. In fact (terrible) sound is the very characteristic that gives to the *Maruts* their name and distinguishes them from all other gods of the Vedic pantheon.[10] The *triṣaptāḥ* referred to in the *AV*.I.1.1. may, therefore, conveniently be said to be *Maruts* whose

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[9] It may be observed here that this expression (viz तन्वः) is rightly taken by Whitney as Acc. plr. as against Gen. Sg. of Roth and also the commentator. Roof धा is never found governing the Gen. as it would appear to do if Roth's construction is accepted.

[10] For the derivation of the name मरुत् and the various views about the nature of मरुत्' see Keith, '*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*' Part I, p. 15If. Also cf AV. XIII. 1.3 where मरुत्' are said to त्रिषआसः and also to have इन्द्र for their friend.

number is thrice seven,[11] or sometimes, of course, thrice sixty[12] also. It is only thus that we can satisfactorily explain why the *triṣaptāḥ* are said 'to be going about bearing all forms'.

At the *AV*. I. 27. 1.[13] the expression *triṣaptāḥ* means (even according to the commentator) thrice seven or twenty-one and is an adjective qualifying *pṛdākvaḥ*. Here then there is no doubt as to who these twentyone are, though the commentator tells[14] us that the *triṣaptāḥ* (*nirjarāḥ*) spoken of here are those mentioned in the *AV*. I. 1.1.

The last passage we have to consider in this connection is the *RV*.I. 133.6 the expression *triṣaptaiḥ* occurs as an adjective qualifying *sattvabhiḥ*. There *Indra* is said to march on with these *thrice seven* strong warriors. Now it is well-known that Indra is often described in the *RV*. as being a friend and ally of the Maruts and also often as being accompanied by them.[15] It, therefore, appears almost certain that the *triṣapta sattva* mentioned in the *ṛk* under consideration are the *Maruts* who are thrice seven in number.

The above discussion about the expression *triṣapta* occurring in the *Saṁhitās* would lead us to conclude with

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11. Cf. *ṚV*. I. 133.6.

12. Cf. *ṚV*. VIII. 96.8; त्रिः षष्टिः according to सायण, is sixty three, which Geldner remarks agrees well with the fact that मरुत्' always spoken of as गण' of seven each.

13 अमूः पारे पृदाक्वस्त्रिषप्ता निर्जरायवः।
तासां जरायुभिर्वयमक्ष्या३ वपि व्ययामस्यघायोः परिपन्थिनः॥

14 Read. त्रिषप्ताः त्रिगुणितसप्तसंख्याका 'ये त्रिषप्ता' इत्यत्रोक्ताः निर्जरा इव. Incidentally it may be noted that the commentator reads निर्जरा इव instead of निर्जरायवः. Secondly that he takes त्रिषप्ताः here as meaning *twenty one* as also in the ऋc ये त्रिषप्ताः (*AV*. I. 1.1), of course, by implication, inspite of the various explanations offered by him in commenting on it.

15. See Keith, *ibid*, p. 151.

pretty accuracy : (i) that *triṣapta* in both the *Saṁhitās* where it occurs signifies not an indefinite number, but the definite number *twenty-one* (*thrice seven*); (ii)that it does not necessarily suggest that the total number twenty-one should be made of three groups of seven each; and lastly (iii) that *when masculine* it designates not any other sets or groups of gods as suggested by the commentator, nor the sounds of which learning is made up as Whitney would have it, nor yet the healthy hearers old and new as proposed by Roth, but only *Maruts*.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE ATHARVA VEDA I.14*.

By Dr. S. K. Gupta

IN his commentary on the *Atharva-Veda* Sāyaṇa sees in this hymn prayers by a husband beseaching miseries for his wife who is no longer loved by him. Being abandoned she has been cursed to take shelter for long in the house of her parents. But this interpretation is not supported by the respect that was shown to women in the days of Vedic hymns. At that time the wife in the family occupied a very high position. Ṛv. X. 85 and *Av*. XIV. 1 make her empress of the household. Moreover, there is no other Vedic hymn or verse indicating the state of affairs that is contained in the interpretation of Sāyaṇa. Hymns like Ṛv. X. 145 do not militate against this position since the translations of this hymn offered by the medieaval and modern scholars are as misleading as a literal translation of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, III, 47

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Abbreviations :

AB. Aitareya Brāhmana. *Av*. Atharva-Veda. The references to this work are to the Ajmer edition of V. S. 2001. *Col.*—column. [*DPU*.—The Daśapādi Uṇādivṛtti, Benares. *GB*.—Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. *mss*.—Manuscript. *Nigh*—Nighaṇṭu. *P*.—Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. *Ṛv*—. Ṛg-Veda. *SB*.—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. ; *S.E.D*.—Sanskrit-English Dictionary. *TB*.—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. *U*.—Uṇādi-Koṣa with the commentary of Dayānanda, Ajmer. *VK*.—Vedic-Koṣa edited by Hans Raj, Lahore. *V. S*. or *S. V*.—Vikramī Samvat. *P*.—Page. *P. Av*.—Paippalāda Recension of the *Av*. Ś*Av*.—Śaunaka Recension of the *Av*. stands for 'avagraha'. *AK*.—Amarakoṣa with Sudhā vyākhyā, Bombay. *N*.—Nirukta. *M*.—Manusmṛti, Bombay. *Yv*—Śukla Yajur-Veda, Ajmer the Saṃhitā and the edition with the commentary of Dayānanda. *SVD*.—Dayānanda, Saṁskāravidhi, cheap edition, 1933. *SP*.—Satyārtha Prakāśa, Dayānanda Calcutta Edition *Ch*.—Chapter. *CSD*.—Gupta, S.K., A Critical Study of the Commentary on the *Ṛg-Veda* by Svāmī Dayānanda. A typed copy of this work is with the Punjab University, Solon.

(gomāṁsam bhakṣayennityam pibedamaravāruṇīm/ kulīnam tamahaṁ manye itare kulaghātakāḥ//) Just as this verse of the *Haṭha-Yoga* has a technical and hidden sense which cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of the technical terms and teachings of the *Haṭha-Yoga*, similarly, the hymn of the Ṛv. X. 145 has a hidden sense which is something quite different from its literal translations so far offered. The word 'atisarga' in N. III. 4 'strīṇām dānavikrayātisargā vidyante' also does not support Sāyaṇa since as explained by Durgā this word refers to the svayamvara system. The sense of abandonement attributed to it by Dr. L. Sarup is incorrect since it has no propriety in the context. Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *Av*. I. 14 therefore, has to be rejected as being fundamentally wrong.

Pt. Kṣemakaraṇa and Pt. Jayadeva have tried to improve upon this interpretation of Sāyaṇa by interpreting in this hymn a request by a brahmacārī to the parents of a girl whom the brahmcārī wishes to make his bride (verse 1). The remaining verses are interpreted as an affirmative reply to the brahmacārī by the parents of the girl. Though this translation is definitely better than that of Sāyaṇa yet it is not possible to accept it since it is against Indian social customs like those of the svayamvara system as found embodied in the Vedic literature and as found in the modern Indian society. It is the parents of the girl who make a request to the desired bridegroom or to his parents or guardians for the hand of their son for the former's daughter.[1] Even in case of love-marriages the same custom prevails.[2] It was but natural in a patrilineal society recognising the husband as all in all and the 'devatā' of his wife. Western edu-

[1] Cf. *Yv*. XI, 70; 72. Also see *M*. IX, 88-91 and *Av*. XI, 5.18.

[2] See Dayānanda 's interpretation of *Yv*. XI, 64; 70.

cation and civilization have not been able to bring about any material change in this age-old customs.

Besides there are two more results deduced from this translation which make us reluctant to accept it. According to this translation of the hymn the age of engagement of the girl comes to eleven to thirteen which is against verses like *Av.* XI, 5.18; Ṛv. II, 35.4; *M.* IX, 90[3] and the like. Likewise, the age of engagement of the boy also comes to twenty one which is opposed to the Āśrama theory. This engagement cannot but interfere in the studies of the two since they would be constantly engaged in thinking of one another and thus performing a 'maithuna'. Again, this translation indicates that there should have been a custom of decorating the head of the girl at the time of puberty and that being engaged at that time she must stay in the house of her parents or of her brother as the case may be for long. All this has, to my knowledge no trace in the Vedic literature. No decoration of the girl is found to exist in the puberty rites prevalent in the high caste Hindus in Northern India. It is, therefore, impossible to accept this translation as correct.

I give below my translation of this hymn fully supported by appropriate authorities. I neither claim finality nor exclusiveness for this translation. I merely feel that this translation is more reasonable and better than the translations hitherto proposed for this hymn and that it follows both the modern method of Vedic interpretation as well as the ancient one as preserved by the Sākhā texts[4], the Brāhmaṇas, and the *Nirukta* and grammar[5].

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[3] See Dayānanda in *SVD*. PP. 127-128; SP. (Cal.) PP. 52. Ch. IV.

[4] See my article on the '*nature of Vedic Śākhās*' read before the XV the Session of the Conference.

[5] For my views on the right method of Vedic interpretation see *CSD*. ch. IX.

Translation of the hymn—Av. I, 14.

The seer of this small hymn of four verses is Bhṛgvaṅgirāḥ and the deity is 'Yamaḥ'[6]. The word 'yamaḥ' (controller) when interpreted in the light of the word 'rājan' used in the vocative in verse II gives a clue to its interpretation. The hymn deals with a king.

Verse I.

"I command you to the prosperity and desirable wealth (or, to the desirable wealth lasting for years) from this earth like a garland from a tree (or, like the fashioning of forms by chiselling). May you stay for long among the subjects (or, during the various seasons for years to come) like a firm and high resolve (or, like a magnanimous mind full of joints in the form of ideas, or, like a mountain having its roots firmly established)."

Notes :—

Asyāḥ : This word refers to the earth denoted by the words 'kanyā' and 'vadhūḥ' in verse II. See notes on these two words. Both these words have been a source of great misunderstanding.

Bhagam : It is derived from bhaja sevāyām. For the sense of this word see M.M. Williams. Dayānanda has also given the same sense to this word in the Ṛv. I, 24.4.

Varcaḥ : It has been translated on the authority of 'varco vā etaddhiraṇyam' and 'varco vai hiraṇyam'. It can also be translated as 'brilliance' on the authority of *SB*. I. 7. 4 *GB*. II. 1.2;[7] and as 'corn' on the authority of *Nigh*. II. 7. Also see Dayānanda on *RV*. III. 24.1 and *Yv*. II. 24.

The alternative sense of this word given in the translation is based upon 'varco dvāviṁśaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ'. It

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[6] See *Av.* Ajmer Edition of 2001 V. S.

[7] See *CSD*. P. 260.

will, in that case, be taken as standing for the Genitive by *P*. III. 1.85.

It may be objected to that modern Vedic scholarship and its results contained in works like the *S.E.D.* by M.M. Williams do not recognize the senses of 'prosperity and wealth', 'corn' and the 'year' as the senses of 'varcaḥ'. This objection should not stand in the way of my translation since these senses are incorporated in the Brāhmaṇa works which have been recognized as the oldest commentaries on the Vedic texts. It is immaterial if these senses are not met with in any other language cognate with the Vedic Sanskrit. It may also be noted in this connection that in Sanskrit language a word often has more than one senses which can follow from its root-sense only by lakṣaṇā. The same holds good here too. The sense of 'prosperity and wealth' follows from the 'vigour, energy, activity' senses of this word enlisted by M. M. Williams. 'Corn' is the primary sense of 'vigour, energy' and follows from the root-sense of the word in the same way in which the sense of 'viṣṭhā' follows from it.[8] The sense of 'year' too follows from the 'brilliance' sense of the root.

Ādiṣi : It is the coalesced form of 'ā' and 'adiṣi'. The √ḍu dāñ dāne, no doubt, gives this form in Aorist, first person singular in the Ātmanepada, but no other form of this root in the Aorist Ātmanepada has been used in the *Atharva.Veda* or in the *Ṛg-Veda* Moreover, it does not give a suitable sense by Abhidhā. I have, therefore, preferred to take it as an irregular form in the Aorist. I have, therefore, preferred to take it as an irregular form in the Aorist first person singular of √diśa atisarjane. Another irregular form of this root is found in 'adiṣṭa' in Ṛv. V. 36.6 and VIII, 93.15. In Ṛv. V. 36.6 Dayānanda has translated it as 'diśet'. Its regular form 'adikṣi' translated

[8] See *DPU*. IX, 49; *U*. IV, 189.

by Dayānanda as 'upadiśāmi' occurs in the Ṛv. V. 43.9. It is important to note that both the forms 'adiṣṭa' and 'adiṣi' belong to the Āṅgirasa hymns whereas 'adikṣi' belongs to the Atri hymns. The form 'adiṣi' has also been used in *Av*. XIII. 1.30 attributed to Brahmā. Brahmā, Atharvā, and Aṅgirāh appear to belong to the same group. Hence there should be no objection in taking 'adiṣi' as a form of √diś. This conclusion is further confirmed by 'pari dadmasi' used in the first person in verse 3. Even if it is taken as a form of √dā the same sense will have to be given to this word.

Adhi : This has no sense in the present verse. *cp*. *P*. I. 4. 93.

Vṛkṣāt and srajam : These words are derived from √vraścū chedane and √sṛja visarge respectively. The alternative senses denote the root senses of these two words. Both the senses are equally appropriate in the context.

Budhna : The U. III. 5 derives it from √bandha bandhane. The commentary on the DPU. V. 38 gives 'saṅkalpaḥ', 'manaḥ' and 'devaḥ' as its senses. Dayānanda has attached a similar sense to this word in the Ṛv. I. 96.6 and in I. 95.8 by translating it as 'He who makes known the objects through the Vedas' and as 'knowledge relating to the vital airs and strength' respectively.[9]

It has been equated with GK. πυθμῆγ; Lat. fundus; Germ bodam, bodem, boden; Anglo. Sax. botm and Eng. bottom. The senses of 'saṅkalpa' ('resolve', 'ideas') and of mind are figurative ones since they are the roots of actions and ideas respectively.

Parvata : It is derived from √parva pūraṇe by U. III. 110. Dayānanda has explained it as "parvati pūrṇo bhavatīti parvataḥ. Parva vidyate-sminniti matvarthī-

[9] See *CSD*., P. 437.

yastakārapratyayo[10] vā". I have, therefore, translated it as 'firm' when applied to 'resolve.' Also see the Vār.' tapparvamarudbhyām vaktavyaḥ' on *P.* V. 2.122.

Pitṛṣu :—This word has been interpreted on the authority of 'martyā' pitaraḥ'; 'Viṣaḥ pitaraḥ'. The alternative translation is based upon 'ṛtavo vai pitaraḥ' (VK. PP. 281).

This word has been equated with Zd. pita; *GK.* πaTñθ; Lat. pater; Goth. fadar; Germ. vater; A. Sax. foeder; Icel. fathir; Dan. and Sw. fader; Eng. father. Among its senses the concise English Dictionary edited by Dr. Annandale includes the senses of 'a guardian, protector, or preserver; originator.'

In the translation offered here the first sense of this word is a reminiscent of the election system. The subjects were called the fathers since they created the king and protected and maintained him by their cooperation just as a father creates his son and protects and maintains him. This sense of the word is preserved in the word 'city-father'. The epithet 'pitṛvartin' meaning 'moving among the subjects' given to king Brahmadatta in the *Harivaṁśa* also preserves this sense. The same sense is found in 'pitṛṇāṁ pitṛtamaḥ' of the *Ṛv*. IV. 17.17; and 'pitaraḥ' of the *Av*. VI. 123.3.

There is no direct philological evidence for the second sense of the word. It, however, follows from the sense of the root √pā rakṣaṇe. cp. *U.* II. 95; DPU. II. 3. This word is listed in the synonyms of 'pada' in *Nigh*. IV. 1 and V, 5. In explaining *Ṛv*. I. 164. 33 in N. IV, 21 Yāska has translated 'pitā duhiturgarbhamadhāt' as 'pitā .duhiturgarbham dadhāti parjanyaḥ pṛthivyāḥ'. This explanation of Yāska gives a clue to the sense of 'season' attributed to 'pitaraḥ' by the Brāhmaṇas. Extending the

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[10] Vide his commentary on *U.* III, 110.

analogy of 'parjanyaḥ' all the seasons can be called by the name 'pitr'. Also see Dayānanda in *Yv.* II, 7; 33; III, 53; V, 11.

Verse II.

"Oh shining one! here is this desirable earth that is to be supported by you. Rule over it by shaking it well. May it remain tied (i.e., yield wealth) in the three seasons of mother (i.e., winter), of brother (i.e., rainy) and of father (i.e., summer)."

Notes :—

Kanyā : It is another form of 'kamanīyā'. See N. VI, 5. Also see Dayānanda's translation of this word in *Ṛv.* VI, 49.7; the commentary on DPU. VIII, 14 and Dayānanda's commentary on U. II, 95. Its literal translation 'girl' has been a source of great misunderṣtanding. In the case of a king its root sense is to be interpreted as refering to earth as indicated by the latter half of this verse.

Vadhūḥ :—It is derived from √vaha prāpaṇe. See the *Sudhā* commentary on Ak. II, 4. 133 PP. 173. Hence the translation. It is an adjective to 'kanyā'.

Nidhūyatām yama : The Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇa have analysed it as 'nidhūyatām yama'. Though this analysis gives quite a good sense, the import of the sentence becomes all the more clear by analysing it as 'nidhūya/tām/yama'. Forms of √ yama of the First Conjugation have been frequently used both in the *Atharva-Veda* and in the *Ṛg.-Veda*. Thus

Yamat has been used in *Av* VI, 35.3; VI, 56.1; X, 4.8; XX, 53.2; XX, 57.12 ; *Ṛv*. V. 34.2; V. 46.5; VIII, 11.7 ; VIII 33.8 ; VIII. 92-3; IX, 44.5; X, 14.14.

Yamate has been used in *Av*. XX, 78.2; *ṚV*. I, 127.3 VI, 45.23; VII, 27.4; VII, 37.3 ; VIII, 2.26.

Yamet has been used in *Av*. XVIII, 2.3.

Yamati has been used in Ṛv. 1,100.9; I, 141.11.

Yaman has been used in Ṛv. III, 45.1; IV, 44.5; VII, 69.6; VIII, 92.31. Yamase in V, 33.3.

Hence this root is Ubhayapadī, though it has been used more often in the Parasmaipada. 'Yama' is the Imperative Second Person Singular form. For the sense of this root see M. M. Williams *S. E. D.* P. 845 Col. II.

'Nidhūya' is from √ dhūñ kampane preceded by 'ni'. and followed by 'lyap' substituted for 'ktvā' 'Tām' is an object to this Gerund and to the verb 'yama'. The Saṁhitā-text published from Ajmer (2001 S. V.) gives 'Yamaḥ' as the deity of this hymn. The authority drawn upon by its author has followed the Padapāṭha of this verse and has taken 'yama' as a Vocative form of 'yamaḥ'. It is better to give 'rājan' as the deity of this hymn and to take 'yama' as indicated above.

Gṛhe : It has been interpreted on the authority of 'ṛtavo gṛhāḥ'.[11] This word has been derived from √ graha upādāne. See Dayānanda's derivation of this word in *Yv.* II, 32. The seasons are like 'a house to the earth' since it lives and yields crop in them. The explanation of the phrases 'mother's season', 'brother's season', and 'father's season' is based upon the analogy of the nature of the seasons with the nature of these relatives.

The underlying idea of this verse is that the ruler must support and protect his kingdom. He should keep it perfectly under control and should yield produce from the earth in all the three seasons by adopting all possible measures necessary for the purpose. It may be noted that under the present conditions it is not possible to grow more than two corn-crops a year from the same field in India. If the interpretation of this verse proposed by me is accepted it will lead us to the conclusion that either the climatic conditions at the time of the composi-

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[11] *AB.* V. 25.

tion of this hymn were different from those that exist to-day, or, that the people of that time had controlled the climatic conditions and were in a position to grow three corn-crops a year. It can also be taken as an ideal to be achieved by the king who was being coronated. The first position appears to be nearer the truth. By crop I understand corn-crop in this context since 'varcaḥ' in verse 1 also connotes 'corn'.

Verse III.

"Oh shining one ! it is the protector of your family (i.e., the nation). We surely give it to you with full powers. For your long stay among your subjects (or, during the seasons) it may bestow happiness from all sides upto your head (i.e., it may bestow complete happiness everywhere in all possible ways).

Notes :—

Kulapāḥ : The king is regarded as the father and the subjects have been considered to be his sons and daughters. The nation, thus, forms the family of the ruler and has been described as such in this verse.

Paridadmasi :—The Plural has been used to indicate the collective force and authority behind the words of the speaker who is no other than a representative of the people forming the nation, may he be the priest or some one else. The preposition 'pari' specifies 'completeness'. Hence the translation.

Ā śīrṣṇaḥ : This phrase survives in Hindi in the form of 'sira se pāon taka' and 'sira taka'. Evidently the sense of 'completeness' or 'fullness' is intended by this phrase.

Śamopyāt : The editors of the *Atharva-Veda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa from Bombay and from Benares have both adopted the reading 'samopyāt' following the reading in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. The 2001 V. S.

edition of the *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā* issued by the Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer has also adopted the same reading. But this reading does not appear to be an old one and hence the correct one since it is not borne out by the evidence of manuscripts. The editor of the Bombay publication of the commentary by Sāyaṇa has given the following foot-note on this word :

'BBDKARSVPPJ and RW all read 'śamopyāt,' dividing 'śam-opyāt'. We with sāyaṇa."

This note clearly shows that the mss evidence is in favour of 'śamopyāt'. Some of the mss. named in the above note represent oral recitors of the text of the *Atharva-Veda*. It appears that Dayānanda also favoured the reading 'śamopyāt' since this reading has been adopted in the *Saṁhitā* of the *Atharva-Veda* published by the *Vedic Yantrālaya*, Ajmer prior to 2001 V.S. I am, therefore, inclined to reject the reading of Sāyaṇa and to adopt the reading 'Śamopyāt' as the original one. The change of 'śa' into 'sa' appears to be due to mispronunciation of some teacher or it can also be due to a misunderstanding of the text by some teacher, probably Sāyaṇa. I have named Sāyaṇa because he is the only source of the reading 'samopyāt'. It is worth noting in this connection that there is no other object in the sentence than 'śam' to the verb 'opyāt'. The Padapāṭha dividing it as śam-opyāt appears to have been the source of bewilderment to scholars since in this analysis the accent presents difficulty. But this feature of accent is found in the Ṛg *Veda* in words like 'śamāyate'[12] 'śamāye'[13]; 'śangame'[14]; 'śaṁgayīm'[15]; and in the *Atharva-Veda* in words like 'śambīva'[16] 'śambhu'.[17] This feature is also seen in the other two Vedas. It appears that there were two 'śam' words one

[12] VIII. 86. 5. [13] III. I. 1. [14] II. I. 6.
[15] IX. 97. 17. [16] IX. 2. 6. [17] X. 19 ; XIX. 10. 10,

accented and the other unaccented. In the present case the latter form has been used. This difficulty is further solved when it is realized that the word 'śam' here is not a prefix to 'opyāt' but is an object to it. The analysis of this word has, therefore, to be modified as 'śam/opyāt'; i.e., these are to be taken as two words appearing as one due to sandhi. It should not be taken as a compound of a prefix with a verb.

Opyāt : It can be analysed as 'ā samantāt upyāt vapet', i.e., may sow from all sides. Hence the translation.

Even if the reading adopted by Sāyaṇa is insisted upon and is taken in its literal sense instead of being interpreted in the light of the reading 'śamopyāt' adopted by us, it can be taken as a case of 'Karmakaṛtr-vācya' and the sentence can be translated as 'for your long stay among the subjects it may sow it well'.

Verse IV.

"Like true and chaste wives hoarding wealth in secure places, I make secure your desirable wealth by the lustre of you who are free from limitations or bondage, and of the sun and of the moon."

Notes :

Asitasya : It is the negative Determinative compound from 'sita', the Past Passive Participle form of √ṣiñ bandhane.

It is held by ancient authorities that the seer of a Mantra offers a help in its interpretation. The *SB*. II, 1.4.29-30 has illustrated the point with reference to the author of *Ṛv*. X, 189. 1-3. Likewise, the name of the seer of this hymn 'Bhṛgvaṅgirāḥ' may be taken to support the translation of 'asitasya' given by me.

Brahmṇā. It has been interpreted on the authority of identification like 'brahma hyagniḥ', 'agnireva brahma'[18]

[18] Vk. p. 367

and 'tejo vā agniḥ'.[19] The commentary on the *DPU*. VI, 74 gives 'tejaḥ' as the sense of 'brahma'.[20] It can also be translated as 'greatness' or 'prosperity' in the case of the king on the authority of *Nigh*. II, 7 and II, 10. Also cp. the Hindi proverb 'rupaye se rupyā baḍhatā hai'.

Gayasya : It has been identified with the 'moon' in *GB*. I. 5.14. This sense has been preserved in the word 'gaya śiras' identified with the western horizon.[21]

Kaśyapasya. By close proximity with 'gayasya' meaning 'moon' it has been translated as 'of the sun'. In the Paurāṇika mythology 'kaśyapa' has been declared as the son of 'marīci' (rays). My translation of 'kaśyapa' in this verse is supported by the *Atharvaveda*.[22] The *Atharvaveda* (XIII.3.10) proves beyond doubt that this word also signifies 'sun'. In this verse it has been used in the Vocative. The deity of the hymn has been given as "ādityah".[23] Av. XIX, 53.10 makes 'time' the father of 'kaśyapa'. The sun upholds time. Hence 'kaśyapa' here can refer to sun only. The *Atharvaveda* (XVII .1.27) prays for a life of thousand years by means of the light and lustre of 'kaśyapa'. Here 'kaśyapa' cannot but stand for the 'sun'. The next verse also conveys the same sense of this word. I have already shown in another paper[24] that the word 'savitā' in *Ś. Av*. 1.33.1 has been replaced by 'kaśyapa' in *P. Av*. 1.25.1 This substitution clearly shows that 'kaśyapa' is a synonym of 'sun'. The *Atharva-Veda*, thus, appears to assign the sense of 'sun' to this word. In *Yv*. III, 62 Dayānanda has translated 'kaśyapasya' as 'ādityasyeśvarasya'.

Kośah : It means 'wealth'.[25]

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[19] Vk. p. 189. [20] p. 251

[21] See N. XII. 19; M.M. Williams, S. E. D., p. 348 Col. 2.

[22] See VIII, 9.2; 6; 7; 5 (more particularly, verse 14); II, 33·7; and XX, 96.23.

[23] See p. 284 of *Av*. *Saṁhitā*, Ajmer, 2001 S. V.

[24] 'Nature of vedic Śākhās' read before the XV Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

[25] See V.S. Apte S. E. D. p. 165 Col. 2 sense No. 10.

Antaḥ : It can only be taken as an adhikaraṇa of 'apinahyāmi'.

Jāmayaḥ : Dayānanda has translated it as 'pativratabhāryāḥ' in the *Ṛv.* VI 25.3. I have adopted the same interpretation. Also see his commentary on *U.* IV, 43; *AK.* III, 3.142; *Nigh.* IV, 1.

The sense of the simili is: just as chaste and loving wives save money and keep it secure and secret for rainy days in the same way you should save a part of the state-income acquired from the wealth produced by you by your meritorious and hard deeds and by utilizing the energy of the sun and the moon. The action of the rays of the sun and the moon on crops is quite well known. Besides this, the sun and the moon have a great power, which, if discovered and made use of for the wellbeing of mankind, can immensely increase the happiness and pleasure of the nation. Atomic power is said to have been collected from the rays of the sun in Argentina.[26] This power can be of great use in building the nation if properly handled.

The king also owes a duty to the land. He must make arrangements for the proper exploration of the terrestrial wealth of his country. For this purpose he must institute Research Societies and take care to put into practice the results of the researches of these societies. It would be of no use if these researches are confined to the four walls of the laboratories or citadels of learning and research. He would, thus, be able to earn untold wealth from the land governed by him. Out of this income he must build up a reserve both in the form of cash and kind. A king who does not do so does not fulfil his rightful duties towards the nation. Our country, too has much wealth. Let us take the ideal from this small Vedic hymn and make ourselves happy and prosperous by proper exploration and utilization of that wealth.

[26] See *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, dated 25.3. 1951. P. 1 col. 1.

THE CENTRIFUGAL MIND: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN PSYCHOLOGY AND YOGA—FOR ITS CONTROL

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

MOST of our mental ills appear to be rooted in the weak habit-of-thought, remarkable for its centrifugal tendencies and fickle fancies.

This is borne by observed instances, in which strong habit-of-thought seems to have made its possessor an irresistible master of unfavourable situations, consequent upon environment, illness and mischance, thus redeeming him from failure to success and bringing honour and happiness on him.

There might be some ills, therefore, which lie in sub-soil of thought and must be weeded out because they are enemies of some imagination and healthy living. The ills are occasionally apparent in the mental life of most people who are not always able to draw a sharp line between the region of illusion and that of intelligence. And surely, to be the victim of an illusion is to be wrong in the pursuit of the right determination of judgement and truth!

The fact, therefore, comes to this that seldom, if ever, anybody is always consistently sober and rational in his perception and belief. A momentary fatigue of the nerves, a little mental excitement, a relaxation of the effort of attention by which one continually takes his bearings with respect to the real world about him, will produce just the same sort of confusion and phantasm.

Phantasm which may be sometimes noticed in the insane!

It is difficulties of this type to which human mind is often a victim in its diurnal life and social relations, that the following lines seek to explore their subtleties—because of the fact that the real remedy thereof rests securely in good health and sound will. Perhaps, one of the commonest type of ills that generally happens to infect the mind and will, is *reverie* which, to say the least, is an unconscious stand-still of mind—showing symptoms of centrifugalism marked by occasional mental inertia in case of ordinary people—being out of control by mind for some reason or other.

This type of *reverie* which should be clearly distinct from what is called *spiritual trance*, may, therefore, be banished by strong determination and energetically challenged till the real end has been reached.

It is curious that a mind befogged under its spell exhibits a tendency to wavering, viz., to wander listlessly from one thing to another. Can we check this mental roving? Perhaps, we can—by seeking through utmost mental effort—to focus our attention on a particular image and deliberately trying to elaborate that—turning it into a vivid well-shaped, coherent pattern of absorbing beauty—so says Psychology. This effort continued, sometimes will banish the so-called *reverie-mood* and call up the nascent will to shake off its mental phase of torpitude.

Let us consider also its various motives and follow the several ,consequences to an ultimate cause; and insist upon seeing strongly every picturable thing in the thought-train. If we could hold the mind steadily to the line determined on, our so-called inner spell of centrifugal mind—marked by *aphasia* or *reverie-habits*—is destined to give way to a habit based on rational thinking.

Besides this mental ill, some minds are victimised

with what may be called *hallucination*: here again, imagination is out of mind's gear and feelings are made real and images are rendered objective because such is the case !

Indeed, there are so-called invalids—unfortunate victims of this mental delusion—who could enjoy perfect health, had they not deceived themselves originally by bringing about conditions which would ruin the health of a normal being ! For, it is not only science but also commonsense which teaches that the mind may, by resolute assertion of will, throw off many psychic ills. The writer, to wit an instance, once called upon a pupil who had taken to his bed from sheer obstinacy ; it was obviously not altogether due to his failure in examination, such as is commonly the case with other students elsewhere, but it appeared to be the outcome of a sort of mental disease and was smoothly cured by allowing him to be left uncared for and unfondled till hunger and calmer thoughts would sufficiently doctor upon his mind to recover his good sense—either just to get well or get out !

For imaginary ills the remedy is a horoughly electrified state of mind : a mind charged with the *ions* of *common-sense* and *good-health* and a firm contradiction by will of the importance of the disease or discomforts! The remedy, thus, is not reiterated-denial that the ill exists : for that is merely another invitation to insanity, and it often simply aggravates the difficulty in the bargain. The mind must resolutely assert that the matter has no such importance as is suggested, and then try to forget the idea by strenuous engagement in other consideration ! This type of auto-suggestion is a great help in forming strong habit-of-thought and both of the dual aspects of *hallucinations*—visual or auditory—may be neutralised by a wise assertion of will. The mind should emphati-

cally insist that it itself is the master! Then the conditions underlying the visual or auditory causes of images or sounds need be thoroughly investigated into. These may be physical, requiring rest and change of place and diet for recovery. Or they may be mental in which the same course may be pursued with a complete variation of interest, this being found in matters far out of the ordinary habits of life.

In other cases the main thing is to get control of the hallucination, viz., if it appears under certain state of mood, we may be compelled to go under for the moment, it should be, at once, sought to be substituted for by psychic formation of different images or aural sense of amusing sound-formations other than the haunted mental incubus—viz., a distant blare of a radio-song or the echoing whistle of a shooting engine—just to neutralise the effect! This will force, to a remarkable degree, the grip of hallucination to be untied forthwith from the mind.

The mystery behind the remedy lies obviously in the fact that many of our ills are due to a weak and fickle fancy—the off-spring of a centrifugal mind—which may be strengthened, trained and cured by wise application to the suggestive instances referred to.

It may be interesting to note here incidentally that there are "spirits" which may not manifest to the eye, yet are terrible in power! Their invisible arena is in the depth of the inscru table mind. Herein, also, wriggle up the dark spirits—called collectively : "Fear"—the gloomy mortal enemy of mind—that can be only routed by a fierce Will.

Or, it may well behove one to be really an honest soul—so to say—to counteract their spell considerably. For, an honest person, according to an old adage, needs fear nothing! But, unfortunately, the so-called 'honest-soul' may not always be wise and fears likewise haunt

his life not a bit the less : fear of men; fear of failure; fear of misfortunes; fear of death; fear of Hell; fear of God; for is not, therefore, the name of 'fear' a legion ? It is then not probable that one who has been terrorized by these 'spirits' may banish them instantly, for good and all; but it is as true as life that the honest soul may in time, by the persistent will, cast them forth forever. For, is it not a fact that we fear men whom we suppose to be above us ?

If we proceed now to build up a perfectly honest life and then meet them at every opportunity, learn their weaknesses as well as merits, we may laugh away this mental spirit—the lurking fear-complex that creates such a great deception in life and makes the pigmy of a mighty soul ! Perhaps, there might be other people who with equal self-deception fear ourselves and that those whom we fear are very likely troubled with fears in turn for others superior in their thoughts to themselves !

And, possibly they fear us as well ! But if with a politic understanding of the word "Strike", one can take a plunge into the feared atmosphere of those we fear, we shall surely in turn learn to laugh at the trickeries of the so-called mental spirits !

There is lastly : the fear of ill-luck. It is also presumed to be akin to somewhat of a superstition and its remedy, perhaps, lies too in intelligence—as mentioned above. Failure in the life of a like person is made admonition of experience and lesson for the future ! Is not, therefore, fear of misfortune a mere coward's attitude ? For, no misfortune ever befell an honest heart which might not be transformed into a blessing !

Certainly, Nature cares for the upright in the supreme hour and the honest soul only fears when it stands in awe and reverence before the infinite and the Almighty !

Thus, it is evident that the causes of different "ills"

referred to above—in the light of *Psychological researches*[1] of the West, viz., of Prof. Royce, Prof. Sully, Prof. James. Prof. Osmond, Dr. Freud, etc., etc.,—to which the mind is often susceptible, are mostly the outcome of weak habit-of-thought and weak fancy—the twins of our centrifugal mind—and can rightly be cured by forming a definite habit of sound-thinking, healthy-living and persistent-willing.

To explore facts as key to secrets for the right understanding and adjustment of mind, the ancient school of "YOGA" in East, has long long ago delved deep into the profundities of "YOGA", which is a process of psycho-spiritual healing or that of the performance of seeming "miracles" in relation to avoiding some impending calamity or disaster by prayer, auto-suggestion, meditation or affirmative invocation of the Divine Intelligence.

The "YOGA"[2] philosophy holds, however, that miracles are fundamentally due to the super-abundant power of mind and asserts, viz., if you can somehow rigidly avoid the enormous leakage of energy which the

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[1] Psychological Research : Reference in this paper is due to :

(i) "Principles of Psychology" by Prof. William James.
(ii) "Outlines of Psychology" by Prof. Royce.
(iii) "Delusion and Dream" by Dr. Freud.
(iv) "Contributions to Analytical Psychology" by Prof. Jung.
(v) "The Human Mind" by Prof. Sully.
(vi) "Outlines of Psychology" by Prof. Baldwin.

[2] YOGA : A system of "mental" discipline preparatory to attainment of Self-Realization or absorption in God or "Brahma."

In the treatise, viz., "YOGATATTVOPANIṢAD", stanza I, four kinds of "YOGA" are set forth, as follows : "Mantrō"; Laya; "Haṭha" and "Rāja."

There are six auxiliaries of "YOGA", viz.., "Āsana" (Posture); "Prāṇa-Samrodha" (complete control of breath); "Pratyāhāra" (withdrawal of the senses) ; "Dhāraṇā" (contemplation) ;" Dhyāna "(continued meditation) ; and "Samādhi" (absorption into the Lord): "*YOGACŪḌĀMAṆYUPANIṢAD*", Stanza I.

mind possesses, through contemplation, thought-thinking, self-restraint, self-purification or divine meditation, earnest prayer and volitional control of passions, you will surely acquire what is technically called "Siddhis"[3] or "the power to do super-natural actions". Thus, eight major "Siddhis" are the greatest miracles, performed by the "Rāja-Yōgins". There are various minor "Siddhis" also. The "Siddhis" are said to be the by-products of concentration and the "YOGIS"[4] (aṣcetics) who have acquired the same virtues can—so the "YOGA" tells you—manage to change the molecules of an object or, even, turn it into gold or any other desired object : by drawing their supposed "supply" from the "cosmic source" or ether and create anything through "YOGIC" power! For instance, Queen Cūḍālai performed miracles to open the eyes of her husband Śikhidhvaja, viz., she stood above the ground and soared in the sky! Saṅkarācārya, the great prophet of "YOGA", was reported to have performed many thrilling miracles, viz., he drank molten lead and passed into the body of a King by a system of "YOGA" called

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For further details; please refer to :

(i) "*Gītā*", pages 11, 37.

(ii) "*Mahābhārata*", pages 12, 36.

(iii) "*Yoga Sūtras*", pages, 9, 13, 14, 41, 42.

(iv) "*Ṛg-Veda*", page 41.

(v) "*Brahma-Sūtra*", Chapter 2, page 1.

(vi) "*The Sāṅkhya-System*" (by Prof. Keith) page 19.

(vii) "*Indian Philosophy*" (by Prof. Radhakrishnan), Vol. II, page 253.

(viii) "*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*" (by Prof. Maxmüller).

(ix) "*The Method of Realising Nirvāṇa through Knowing the Mind*"; (by Prof. W. Y. Evans-Wentz).

[3] SIDDHI : A term in "YOGA" meaning psycho-spiritual "saturation".

There are eight types of it as enumerated in "YOGA" and the "Gītā", Chapter 18, stanza 50.

[4] YOGI : One dedicated to "YOGA".

"Parakāya-Praveśa" (the process of entering into other's body). Sadāśiva Brāhmaṇa, another "YOGIN", performed many miracles, viz., he was seen in different places at the same time; he was buried underneath the ground on the bank of the Kāverī river in Madras for some months. His hand was cut, and he brought out again the full hand. Dattātreya was another born "YOGIN" and "Siddha", who is said to have created a woman and a bottle of wine by his "YOGIC" power—to get away from the disturbing crowd.

Some again, however, exhibit small miracles with the help of some disembodied spirits inasmuch the same manner, say, as the Shakespearen Witches did in the *Macbeth* or *Hamlet* ! Drinking nitric acid, swallowing nails or potassium cyanide, chewing cobra-snake's head off its alive, trunk walking over glowing red-hot fire over a considerable distance, and the like sort of "black magic", however, often witnessed on a way-side fair or market-place, are merely the works or performances of the so-called charlatans posing as "Sādhus" (ascetics) and must not altogether be mistaken for "Siddhas" or "YOGINS"—mentioned before !

The greatest triumph of "YOGA"—in ancient India—then, was not at all in the acquisition of a supra-psychical power that could at once enable you to turn water into wine or a stone into gold but in the inner transformation of the great cosmic Self or the Soul for the attainment of true bliss or "*Brahman*[5]".

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[5] BRAHMAN: The Ultimate Supreme Essence which the Vedas regard as the basic constituent of World, called GOD. It is technically called the *Mahāvākya* (the Great Word) or REALITY. There are four great *Mahāvākya*, viz., (i) "Prajñānam Brahma" (Intelligence or Wisdom is Brahman).

(ii) Aham Brahmāsmi—I am Brahman.

(iii) "Tatvamasi"—(THAT thou art).

(iv) Ayam ātmā Brahma (THIS SELF is Brahman).

"*ŚUKARAHASYOPANIṢAD*", Stanza 2.

The 'YOGIC" or psycho-spiritual mind-healing should, thus, in no way seek either to criticize, obstruct, or deny the benefits of medicine, surgery, diet, or sanitation. It admits that there is but one final healing "miracle" in the universe in curing the so-called weak habits-of-thoughts symptomatic of hallucination, fits of depressions, mind-wavering, etc., etc. There are, again, many different ways of using this healing agency also! When the surgeon removes an "infected area' he is surely making it possible for the universal healing power to restore his patient to wholeness; when the psycho-analyst delves deep into the subconscious mind of his patient, he is likewise trying to align the mental condition of his patient in such a way that a universal healing power can do its work without interruption.

And, hence, just as both these have developed the certain techniques referred to, for using this healing agency effectively, so can it be denied for aught or for the matter of that, viz., there are definite scientific truths in the 'YOGIC' techniques which have been exhibited by miracle-cures of ancient "Sādhus" (ascetics) and Christian monks or renunciates—as viewed *mutatis mutandis*, in the bargain?

In the current Era of ultra modernism—when people are obsessed with romances of Science—that are often misconstrued—there is a danger of such statements, no doubt, as being regarded as either "exaggeration" or "delusions"!

But, the "YOGA"—particularly of the Pātañjali[6]" school of thought in India—to wit by way of an illustration in point—clearly gives rational explanations for such apparently "miraculous" happenings through practice and Self-realizations, by the disciplines, viz., of "Yama" (restraint); "Niyama" (observance); "Āsana" (posture);

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[6] Auther of tbe *Yogasūtra*, 5th Cen. A. D. and a great *siddha*.

"Prāṇāyāma" (breath-control); "Pratyāhāra" (withdrawal); "Dhāraṇā" (concentration); "Dhyāna" (meditation); and "Samādhi" (Super-consciousness or absorption in "Brahman" or God).

From "Pratyāhāra" onward, there is the active control exercised over the mind. Concentration and fixing the mind on one point are the real beginning of the practice of "YOGA". "Dhāraṇā" means poising the mind itself or fixing it on—as though glued to a particular point—so that the attention of the mind may be fully focussed upon the point. "Dhyāna" is the continuous flux of that thought through the concentration of the mind on that point so that it may not go away off under its centrifugal tendency. It is the concentration of the process of one-pointed attention which is a stepping stone to "Samādhi"—the blissful peak of super-consciousness.

Now, if we are merely told, viz., that one should close his eyes to fix his mind firmly upon a particular point, possibly he may not, as well, quite grasp the precise hint as embodied in the real objective pursuit of the "YOGA" technique, at all! For this, it may be necessary, however, to probe into the subtleties of the nature of mind, preliminarily. Mind is thus a bundle of four basice lements—as per Indian *Sūtras* (system), viz., "Vāsanā" (desire); "Ahaṅkāra" (Egoity); Saṅkalpa (thought) and "Prāṇa" (Life-expression).

The ever restless mind becomes quiescent when all desires vanish. Desires raise "Saṅkalpas" (thoughts) and one performs actions by "Prāṇa" (Life-expression) to acquire the desired object! But as the desire-point is reached, mind recoils back as though like a bob of pendulum under its so-called inertia or centrifugal tendency to its normal state, only to be tossed forward again by another stroke of "impulse" called "Vṛtti", in "YOGA" science!

"Vṛtti" is only a variant (?) of the Sanskrit word "Vṛitta" meaning "circle" and, hence, it would be easy to comprehend as to why the mind is conceived by the "YOGA" science as akin to a wheel which revolves endlessly with tremendous speed ; generates new thoughts (Saṅkalpa) and is again kept set in motion by the undulations of psychical "Prāṇa" !

"Prāṇāyāma" [Discipline of "Prāṇa" (life-expression)] is thus suggested in the "YOGA" as being a *sine qua non* to stop the great wheel of "Vāsanās" (desires) and becalm the mind in eternal repose and bliss—such as was enjoyed by great sages like the Buddha, Śaṅkara, Christ, Paramahaṁsa, St. Francis, the Christian Mystic, Meister Eckhart[7] and so on.

The western psychologists and occultists, however, lay great stress on a likewise system, viz., of the science of thought-culture, which is fairly broad-based on a simple truth, like the usual dictum : "As One Thinks So He Is."

Evil thoughts are thus supposed to be the predisposing causes of almost all sorts of mental diseases—inasmuch as most diseases fairly take their origin at first from an "impure" thought or imbecile weak-habits of vicious thought-thinking and can be cured by what is called the method of "substitution", technically known as "Pratipakṣa Bhāvanā", in the "YOGA" science, viz., by auto-suggestion and repeated mental assertion as to the non-entity and existence altogether in the subjective sphere of the mind—of the "disease-devil" ! Man is not only a biological or pathological entity but is also a psycho-spiritual being. To attain Self-realisation—the "YOGA" as-

[7] ECKHART : Meister Eckhart : a 13th century monk and mystic of Thuringia (Germany). His famous precepts and words reveal astounding insights into Divine Presence of ONE REALITY, everywhere, every time and at every place as per Vedic concept of "Brahman" Vide : "Vedanta and the West" No : 115 (Hollywood, California).

serts, therefore, to make one absolutely free from even a tiny vestige or onslaught of passion, anger, greed, envy, animosity, overanxiety, fits of temper or violent thoughts, which evidently contrive to destroy the cells of the body and induce diseases of the heart, liver, kidneys, spleen, stomach and other organs—in the bargain. Every cell in the body suffers or grows, receives a life impulse or a death impulse, from every thought that enters the mind, for—doesn't one tend to grow into the likeness of that which verily one thinks about most—as declared by Lord Buddha, viz., "Man is the Thought"—after attainment of Self-Realisation (Nirvāṇa)?

The physical body is thus the mould, as it were, made by the mind—so the "YOGA" suggests—for its own "enjoyment", viz., for the sake of outpouring of "Prāṇa"-energy and thereby gaining different experiences of this world, through the five senses or channels of knowledge (sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste); the five organs of perception and actions (hand, leg, speech, entrails and genitals); five phenomenal elements (air, earth, water, fire and Ākāśa); five instruments of sensation-carrier (eye, nose, ear, tongue and skin) and four media of ideation (mind, intellect, sub-consciousness and egoity)—making, all told, the first twenty-four cardinal principles of "YOGA", as enumerated in the *Gitā*.[8]

The body with its organs is no other then than the mind; and when the mind is fixed upon a thought and dwells on it, a definite vibration is set up, tending itself to repeat—to become a habit—on basis of a subjective process of "chain-reaction", as it were, viz., "thought" induces "mood"; "mood" induces "impulse"; "impulse" generates "action"; "action" turns to "habit"; "habit" forms "character" and, finally, "character" becomes "destiny"! The

[8] Chapter XIII, 5—6.

power of suggestions and their influence on the mind are thus evidently so effective.

""Knowledge", as it is, comes then through the above referred twenty-four psychical processes, as per "YOGA" system: through "Indriyas" (sense-organs). But the "Indriyas" are controlled by six ways, viz., by conscious discrimination (Vicāra); will-power (Ichhā-Śakti); by breath-control exercise (Prāṇāyāma); by self-restraint (Śama); by renunciation or dispassion (Vairāgya) and mental discipline (yoga) of asceticism. · The Indian "YOGA" system, also, does assume, viz., that "mind" is also the seat of "Avidyā" and that the "world" is apparent only because of "Avidyā", which is supposed to be an innate negative power that veils the Reality and creates the so-called mental "illusions"! That is the reason, then, as to why it makes us go, often, "astray"! The sense of ignorance is, thus, latent in mind and one can only destroy it by knowledge (Prajñā), cognition and "YOGA" practices, referred to. The root-cause of all miseries and bondage, according to Indian "YOGA" science and philosophy, is "Avidyā" or Ajñāna (ignorance): a counter part, viz., of Primordial Darkness of the "genesis" of Creation, as mentioned also in the *Bible*.

Then from ignorance is born non-discrimination; from non-discrimination is born "Abhimāna" (conceit or pique); from Abhimāna is born "Rāga-dveṣa" (anger and hatred); from "Rāga-dveṣa" is born Karman (action); from Karman is born body and from body is born misery. If one then does seriously resolve to wipe out traces of "misery", he must need *a priori* be fully qualified by "YOGIC" discipline to get quit of the desire of "embodiment"; he must be in a perfect stage of YOGIC purification, known as Siddha[9], as—not at all become the worst victim to

[9] SIDDHA: An adept in "SIDDHI".

anger, lust, fear, greed, hatred and lots of the so-called mental Vṛttis ills, referred to. If one desires, again, to be free from Karman (actions) in a general sense, he must practise to abandon Rāga-dveṣa (anger and hatred) through YOGA. If one wishes to free himself from "Abhimāna" (conceit or pique), he needs to employ the YOGA weapon to destroy Avidyā (ignorance or nescience).

Or, if one does resolve to get rid, altogether, of Avidyā, he must seek the way of Self-realization through Viveka (discriminating consciousness) and "Prajñā" (wisdom)—as the sages did in past and the YOGINS perform in the East and elsewhere—as mentioned before—in miracles called *Haṭha-yoga*, or super-magics.

One can thus dispel pain, sorrow, ignorance, fear, worry and anxiety only when he realizes the Supreme Reality step by step through YOGA. For how can you, then, be subject to fear when you have realized the Self, when you have come to know that you are in essence identical with the non-dual Reality (Brahman) and that there is no other "seer" but you, no other "knower" but you, no other thinker but you?

Who is to be afraid of whom, when one can feel oneness everywhere?

Who is, again, to hurt whom, when all dualities have totally vanished?

The Western philosophers from Desartes to Bertrand Russel or Auguste Comte may have sought for such an answer, no doubt, in vain, in "materialism", but it was not till the appearance of what is called the "school of perennial philosophy" under the aegis of Huxley, Jung, Spengler, Swedenborg, Sully, Bergson or Emerson, that the eastern YOGA Philosophy or, for the matter of that, its precise bearing upon mind as a weapon of supreme efficacy in aiding its progressive evolution on this planet, remained almost a sealed book, so to speak.

Fortunately, of late, phenomenal developments in International fellowship and culture have made rapid strides in the matter of cementing the bond of East-West research, so far, in helping exploration of rich treasures which lie otherwise buried in the obstruse language of the Eastern philosophy and thoughts, for the widespread dissemination and evident delectation of a rather wondering world. Indeed, modern researches in Psychology and Philosophy made, so far, by Prof. James: Principles of Psychology, Dr. Sully: The Human Mind, Prof. Baldwin: Outlines of Psychology, Prof. Osmond: Concept of Philosophpy, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Swami Śivānand, Prof. A. S. Pringle, Prof. Robertson, Prof. Rhys Davids, Romain-Rolland, Prof. Huxley, Albert Schweitzer, and others in the field, have indelibly confirmed the existence of one *Absolute Reality* which is the Ultimate behind all seeming diversities of the cosmogonic universe.

This is exactly, then, what the Vedas or, for the matter of that, the Buddha declared in the immortal voice, viz., "Man is the THOUGHT" or "Wisdom is REALITY" (Prñjnānam Brahma)—as mentioned before. Does it not follow then that, viz., the mind assumes the form of any object it intensely cognizes of? What wonder, then, that if one thinks of, say, Lord Jesus or Ramkrishna with great concentration, he must, without fail, see the form of his subject as if a tangible reality? This is why the psychological dictum, viz., "As you think so you become" has come true, in all ages.

The Eastern philosophy has, therefore, conceived mind as being the root of the World or world-processes; while desire (Vāsanā) is likened to fuel and thought (Dhāraṇā) to fire.

If anybody could somehow acquire the miracle-power of YOGA referred to, would it be at all gainsaying to say: that he should have then surely grasped

the key, likewise, to the perennial secrets of extinguishing *it* altogether—not to speak of getting rid of all its centrifugal tendencies, as hinted in these texts :

"Manōsā byābyo mā nō hi
dehatām jāti dehaka
Deha vāsanāya mūkta-
dehō dharma na lipyate"[10]

(Mind fixed on body begets embodiment; non-thought thereon only gives release from it, that is, rebirth or transmigration).

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[10] Sāma-Veda, Stanza 2.

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF INDIAN AESTHETICS

By Shri H. L. SHARMA

Continued from Vol. XVI, Pts. 3-4.

VII. *SYMBOLISM*

S. 1 *Symbolism as a Function of Human Psyche*

Atomism in Psychology erred by reducing all mental activities to a few simple and primary functions. It came to be *reductio ad absurdum* of a process of simplification, as it tried to build up higher mental contents by compounding and multiplying. The chief source of error was the belief that low-grade organisms are 'simplified models' of the high-grade ones. Recent growth of Psychology leads us to conclude that the mental dynamics of high-grade animals cannot be adequately explained without positing a number of primordial functions One such is Symbolism. Our task here is to define symbolic function of human psyche and establish its relation with aesthetic consciousness in man.

Of all animals man alone can look beyond the manifest datum of sense and realize that 'things are not what they seem'. This too, he realizes, when he is raised to higher plane of being above the superficial perceptual plane, and, because he attaches to 'things' a significance in terms of his spiritual experiences. The sun, for example, is not the source of life and light merely, but, by its effulgence, glow and warmth, he symbolises the deepest yearnings of our inner being. In his career from dawn to dusk, the sun presents to us daily the truth of our life which springs up into view from distant unseen horizons and is enveloped for ever behind the dark pall of infinite future. So are the moon, stars, oceans, mountain peaks

and other splendid phenomena of Nature as visible symbols of the invisible profound longing. From the dawn of creation, man has been praying to them for satisfaction. In ecstatic moments of religious experience, he hallowed them with divine qualities. The pantheon of a country is the galaxy of religious symbols invented by its people in moments of prayerful ecstasy.

The study of religious symbolism reveals the process of its growth. A symbol comes into being when a nation's life-energy is turned inwards from external achievements as a result of failure in facing an unpalatable situation, such as defeat, subjugation or internal strife. Introversion of a whole nation's life is nature's device for its preservation as it is in case of the plant, busy building up its roots, when battered by weather inclemencies from outside. The greater is the capacity and willingness to introversion, the greater is the chance for its survival, for in that state, the nation can draw from within its own unconscious historic depths the new vitality and strength for adaptation and growth. Every time the nation emerges victorious after latent unconscious activity, a new symbol is brought up to the surface, to which the nation pays its homage. In India each incarnation of God (Avatāra) is a significant religious symbol evolved by the native genius to meet a serious national emergency. India has been able to survive countless catastrophes of all manner through her secret power of building up her inner life in terrible times and her inventive genius of discovering a suitable symbol of her profound longing. Her poets and artists, who were also her social leaders and philosophers and who arose in a large number in periods of crisis, gave to her people symbols of love, strength and endurance, which sustained them throughout the period. The artistic presentation of these soul-sustaining symbols has been the commission of the sages and saint-artists of India.

A symbol comes out of a 'crisis' which deepens the psychic foundations of nation's life. It is a result of internal upbuilding of vitality, an opening up of infinite primal source of energy, which is nation's libido. A symbol is a result of concentration and condensation. Recent Psychology is definite about regarding Perception as a product of fusion of memories, imagination and even thinking. Each percept, in this way alone, becomes an index of numerous qualities and experiences. Under stress of practical needs, however, we barely touch upon the fringe of the total meaning that perception can convey to us. There is, as it were, a short-circuiting of the 'meaning-current' started by a percept. But because of the hurry of life as well as vacillating nature of attention, the 'meaning-current' in our consciousness is soon broken up and replaced by another. In aesthetic perception, the sense-datum is a result of greater concentration of mental life—large emotional currents, deep subconscious longings of the soul, imaginal trains, our aspirations and fears, all converge on that sense-datum and thus transform the simple percept into a touching symbol. The flag of a nation is a piece of cloth to cold perception, and yet its symbolic value is almost immeasureable and is not at all commensurate with its face-value. The reason is the same concentration of a large emotional energy, not of one individual, but of the whole nation, of her 'noble rage' and spirit of life. The nation's life is woven about her flag, her anthem and other ceremonies which constitute the National Symbolism.

There is condensation also in the development of Symbolism : Flag as a National Symbol condenses in its small being the large memoirs of the past, traditions of chivalry and histories of nation's illustrious heroes and heroines. National symbolism is a psycho-social product and even economic and political idealogies, emotional values of the entire social structure, ethics and 'ethos' of

the institutions are clearly reflected in the symbols. The study of evolution of a nation's symbolism reveals the successive planes of moral and emotional life, the stages of unfoldment of her inner experiences, her conflicts and struggles with ideas, and, lastly, the contribution of each age to common weal. Each symbol is a pool of the vast changes that take place in the subliminal current of nation's life.

Can a man live without symbolism? This question amounts to asking: Can a man rest content with only seeing, hearing or touching, the superficial qualities of the world, without interpreting them in terms of their spiritual significance? We must deepen our insight into the objects and ideas and thereby transform them as 'signs' into profound 'symbols'. The finite objects come to have almost an infinite character and immense emotional value because the human psyche itself is infinite and immeasureable in its profundity. Symbolic activity thus becomes an inveterate trend of the infinite and eternal human soul, which must find itself in, and, through the finite and transitory objects of the world. He must transform the world in which he lives and this he does by deepening and condensing his experiences into its objects.

The secret of strong art-appeal is found in the use of symbols in art. A national artist *finds* a large stock of national symbols, which he successfully exploits for the purpose of appeal. Through symbols he voices the inmost emotional experiences of his people and thus becomes their true prophet and 'the carrier of mass desires'. Sometimes a poet invents a rare symbol on which the nation as a whole feeds itself. Our literature in the Purāṇas contains profuse national symbolism, which at the same time reveals our anti-individualistic national outlook. We, the orientals, 'bowed low before the blast' of individualism 'in silent deep disdain', and when we 'plunged in thought' we only

realised the spiritual laws of cosmic unfoldment. The eternal struggle of the Good and Evil, Truth and Falsity, Light and Dark, are the recurrent themes of India's spiritual history, symbolised in her art and literature. Śiva has a third eye which contains fire to burn Cupid. Rāma and Rāvaṇa fought hard for Sītā. The ocean was churned by gods and devils and so on. If we discover 'the allegoric and anagogic' meaning behind these stories, we shall discover our national symbolism embodying our undying spiritual urge for the presentation of cosmic aspects of the universe, which is essentially spiritual. These stories do not grow old to us and are fountains of eternal freshness and charm because of their deep symbolic character. Every new poet and artist only edits the same themes over again with the age-stamp, thus revalidates and intensifies the symbols for mass acceptance.

There is also a system of International Symbolism claimed by Psycho-analysis. But these symbols with the bulk of psycho-analysts are not so much symbolic of spiritual realities as symptomatic of morbid mentality. A few facts, however, stand out as fundamental, which reveal the nature of symbolic functioning in art. A symbol is said to be, e.g., an invention of the Unconscious. In point of fact, the conscious mind is only the stage for execution and all forms of creativity go on behind the stage. The unconscious is a tremendously creative energy, which throws out symbols of libidinal fire into objects and ideas outside. Creation takes place in a state of introversion, when the individualised conscious self returns to its original rhythm. The discovery of a symbol is the work of un-individualized and infinite core of our self, because by symbolic activity we infinitize the finite idea or object outside and kindle it with glow of the deepest self-feeling. When a large spark of the libido is freed from within, it seeks a sensuous material for embodiment. The material

with the touch of the spark is galvanized and made a source of joyous festivity. Such symbols symbolising the inmost urges of the soul and almost unfathomable in their beauty are the glorious sun, the moon, clouds, fire, skylark, nightingale, ocean, streams and so on which have never wearied the eager gaze of man. Poets have sung of them and painters have drawn them in colour and line without exhausting their charm. These symbols, discovered by the unindividualized infinite self, constitute the really international language.

As a product of repressed sex-wishes, Freud's symbolism is retrospective. It is a way of indirect wish-fulfilment, and does not adequately explain the unending fascination of a symbol. In later stages, however, Freud urges that man is under the spell of Death-instinct. Life wearies man and Death refreshes him. Constant action and adjustment is the stern call of Life, which never excuses man of perpetual vigilance. There is no holidaying in life and no time 'to stand and stare'. Death-instinct of Freud is the craving of man for eternal rest and inaction, which is in fact the state of matter and not of life. Life struggles against the empire of matter over it, but it succumbs to it in the long run. Jung, relying on the etymology of the word 'matter', holds that the desire to return to the matter-state is the craving of man to return to 'the mother'. Matter is 'the mother', the sanctuary of eternal salvation from the hurry and worry of life. The relation between man and his libido is the relation between 'son' and 'mother'. The son is born of the mother; duty calls on him to march forward for action and leave the mother behind. But difficulties of life make him look back to the motherly cradle. Thus 'mother' is at once the source of intense longing and danger to adaptation in life. Let us study the mother-son Psychology a little more in the words of Jung himself.

Mother, the object of our intense infantile attachment, the source of life and libido, is, at the same time, the source of our weakness to the adaptation to reality. The child battles against the mother, who pursues him, for deliverance. The son must tear off all the sentimental connections with the mother in order to live an active, healthy life. It is painful, yet it must be done in order to follow the call of individual destiny. "The onward urging, living libido which rules the consciousness of the son, demands separation from the mother. The longing of the child for the mother is a hindrance on the path to this, which is expressed empirically in the neurosis by all manners of fears, i.e., the fear of life."[2] "The retrospective longing acts like a paralyzing poison upon the energy and enterprise ; so that it may well be compared to a poisonous serpent which lies across our path. It is a hostile demon which robs us of energy, but, in reality, it is the individual unconscious, the retrogressive tendency, which overcomes the conscious forward striving."[3] With only a change of phrases, the longing for the mother is equal to Schopenheur's instinct for self annihilation. "Schopenheur wished to abolish through negation (holiness and asceticism) the error of the primal will, through which the world was created."[4] Death and depths of libido are 'enticing' and yet it is a terrible experience to sink into it. It is the complete retrogression of life's energy when "the active fructifying (upward striving) form of the libido is changed into the negative force striving downwards towards death."[5]

The mother-longing is the cause of all phantasy and symbolism. Religion and Art are two ways in which the longing is satisfied. Religion, outwardly, consists of liturgical forms, ceremonies and sacraments, and a large body of myths, and, inwardly, religion is a distinct experience and mysticism. Both in its inward and outward forms, religion is the primary need of the soul, and thus must be

founded in some basic longing and functioning of the human psyche. The first datum of religious consciousness is 'God'.

"Psychologically, however, God is the name of a representation-complex which is grouped around a strong feeling (the sum of libido). Properly, the feeling is what gives character and reality to the complex. The attributes and symbols of the divinity must belong in a consistent manner to the feeling (longing, love, libido and so on)........ God is our own longing to which we pay divine honours."[6]

The gods of a nation are different phases and facets of her internal life, representations of the national libido, the ways in which she tries to adore and glorify her feeling. Indian art, in its highest reaches, is god-ridden and in those very reaches we find intensification of religious feeling. Our pantheon of gods, their superhuman qualities and attributes, not only indicate the fulness of religious fervour, but also perfection of artistic development. As art-experience has the closest resemblance with religious feeling, in India, for long, the saints were invariably supposed to be poets at the same time, and our history of art only confirms the truth of this assertion. A study of the gods in India associated with poetry, sculpture and architecture is bound to reveal an important law of religio-artistic symbolism, probably different from one suggested above by Psycho-analysis, which, however, is credited with showing an intimate relation of symbolic activity in the spheres of art and religion.

The gods are a product of religio-aesthetic activity. Besides, they have mythical characters. Some are represented as having four, others, five mouths and so on. None follows the pattern of human anatomy. Some are even frankly theriomorphic (animal) representations, and, even those that are anthropomorphic contain wide departures from the human norm. Not probing deep into the nature

of religio-aesthetic activity involved in Symbolism, our critics have held that the Indians, failing to represent the vigour of emotion in natural forms, present it in sub-natural or supernatural forms by a process of *multiplication*. The truth of the matter is that if we could understand the nerve of symbolic functioning, we should be able to explain the myths and the ceremonial forms.

One explanation already hinted at above is "that the gods are libido. It is that part of us which is immortal; since it represents that bond through which we feel that in the race we are never extinguished. Its springs, which well up from the depths of the Unconscious, come, as does our life in general, from the root of the whole humanity, since we are twigs broken off from the mother and transplanted."[7] "The divine in us is the libido. From different directions the analysis of libido symbolism always leads us back again to the mother-incest...That these heroes are nearly always wanderers is psychologically clear symbolism. The wandering is a representation of Longing, of ever-restless desire, which nowhere finds its object, for, unknown to itself, it seeks the lost mother. The myth of the hero is the myth of our own suffering Unconscious, which has an unconquerable longing for all the deepest resources of our own being, for the body of the mother and through it for communion with life in the countless forms of existence."[8]

The form of thinking, Jung teaches, of the Unconscious is sub-rational and phantastic. The conscious mind looks for action and adjustment, hence the modus of its working is realistic and scientific. The Unconscious has no such problem to face, hence it can satisfy itself with wish-phantasies. This working with wish-phantasies in order to satisfy and embody the mother-imago is symbolic activity and productive of all religio-artistic symbolism. The symbols, therefore, need not have any counterparts in reality. It is enough if they embody the 'wish'. Thus are the myths produced. The study of the myths converges on one point: the career of a hero-god is a kind of psychological resurrection of the self from a state of introver-

sion. Jung quotes Frobenius who has discovered the law of symbolic structure of myths as follows :

	West	East	
To devour	————————		To slip out, to open, to land.

(To set on fire, to cut off the heart)

Illustration : "A hero is devoured by a water-monster in the West. The animal carries him within his belly to the East (sea-journey). Meanwhile, he kindles a fire in the belly of the monster (to set on fire) and since he feels hungry he cuts off a piece of the hanging heart (to cut off the heart). Soon after he notices that the fish glides upon the dry land (to land); he immediately cuts open the animal from within outwards (to open) then slides out (to slip out). In the fish's belly, it had been so hot, that all his hair had fallen out. The hero frequently frees all who were previously devoured and all now slide out." (Chapter V).

It is true that many of the myths of our Purāṇas can be explained on this hypothesis of the symbolic structure. An avatāra (god-incarnation) always came to the earth when 'wickedness' increased. Wickedness in the myths is nothing but extreme extroversion of libido. Then the gods and other good men undergo tapas (introversion) and as a result the avatāra is born. He undertakes journey to the lands of the demons who live luxuriously at the expense of the meek gods. He destroys them and restores peace and prosperity to mankind and gods. The whole world sings highly of him and he goes back to his celestial abode.

Though we cannot reject outright the psycho-analytic hypothesis of symbolism, yet we cannot help regarding it as foreign to the native genius of India. According to it, religion is a kind of pardonable indolence and infantile phantsy, and the religious forms only 'the congealed forms of hallucination'. To us religion is a true experience, and mysticism marks a definite stage in the

growth of the human self. Religious experience is a fact in the history of phylogensis and outogenesis. When we pass through it, we feel in our own self the pulsation of divine spirit. The ways of worship are the ways in which we seek divine communion, which is not reducible either to self-hypnotism or hallucination. Art and religious experiences compare in the aspect that both of them end in overthrowing the individuality-bonds and are attended with a positive feeling of ecstatic self-merger. Self-merger either in mystic religious experience induced by prayer or in aesthetic contemplation initiated and sustained by the object of art is not the neurotic negation of the self as Psycho-analysis may suppose. On the contrary, by means of prayer and art-contemplation we negate only the transitory and empirical self and thereby assert the abiding spiritual element in us. By this way of positive self-feeling the work-a-day self is rejuvenated and replenished with fresh energy-drive from within with the dissolution of the mental 'complexes'. A 'complex' is a kind of mental tuber formation which congeals the flow of life. Prayer and art-experience, in so far as they are ways of self-communion, break up these complexes and free the life-energy for further expansion. They are a form of 'mental gardening' in which we weed out the complexes and other 'mental worms'. To reduce religion and art to a 'complex' is height of absurdity.

When all this has been said, the fact remains that much of art and art-symbolism answers to the charge of Psycho-analysis and a study of the Purāṇas and religio-art symbolism from this point of view is a desideratum. Wherever we are concerned with transcendental facts and communication of profound experiences, we cannot help using symbolic language. The natural idiom of art-expression is therefore invariably symbolic. And as the human psyche is not satisfied with what is given to it passively as sense-

data and as it is ever burning with a passion to tear off the veil that screens off the reality, it is always busy building 'symbols' for the transcendent facts. Symbolic activity is more common than it may be supposed to be at first sight.

As symbolism involves condensing of a large meaning in a small space, even Science and Mathematics have consciously adopted it. We have now mathematical symbolism. Of late there has been an approach in Logic to symbolise thought-processes and reduce the complex to a few countable simple forms. Economy and simplicity are two incidental advantages of Symbolism. The truth seems to be that symbolic activity of the human mind is a part of Nature's economy drive, and hence it is a universal aspect of all efforts where expression of meaning is concerned. Symbolism is the life-breath of communication in art.

S. 2. *Symbolism and Indian Aesthetics*

We have cleared up the question: Why are the symbols formed? Our answers have been three: (i) Our finite individuality is superimposed on an infinite and eternal urge. The finite objects of perception cannot satisfy man completely. The external order of things is transformed by regarding it as reflection of the urge within. The mere 'signs' of sense-experience are deepened into living symbols of spiritual reality. (ii) Psycho-analysis is definite on the nature of the internal urge which is of the form of love-of-death and mother-longing. Unable to fulfil the constant demands of practical life, the mind returns to an infantile stage of wish-fulfilment and falls into forming religious and artistic symbols. Symbol-formation, thus, is a kind of auto-erotic infantilism. (iii) In hieratic art of India, a symbol is a means to worship and spiritual communion. The finite communicates with Infinity, and the temporal with Eternity through sym-

bolic creation in a work of art. A symbol like Viṣṇu or Śiva is neither a photograph nor an ideograph, nor yet a representation, but a sustainer of spiritual-experience. Its apparent departure from normal human physiognomy is intentional in so far as it weans the mind from falling into the error of regarding it as representation of perceptual reality. Viṣṇu has four hands, representing thereby the wheel of creation supported by four evolutionary epochs. In his four hands he holds conch-shell, wheel, mace and lotus symbolising in them sound, motion, law and purity. One who worships Viṣṇu as a symbol of psychocosmic value is a real devotee of him. In the same way, Śiva is a symbol of destruction through which alone the psycho-cosmic energy undergoes fresh renewals. A symbol thus is a creation of the super-conscious mind enjoyed and understood in a moment of mystic illumination.

Now the question is : How are the symbols formed ? We may examine two answers here—

1. Jung tells us that the first law of 'symbol-formation is the comparison based on analogy'. The symbols of analogical comparison are sun, fire, lightning, etc. They symbolise the inner urge or libido. Man has looked upon the effulgent objects of nature with intense and eager longing. He hates dark; it is the devilish-mother and death. But from 'the dismal dark depths' emerge the 'mild gods of light'. The second law is 'the comparison based on causative relations'. There may be object-comparison and subject-comparison. In all these cases the '*tertiam comparationis*' is activity. Such symbols are phallus or snake. The libido is represented as the fecundating bull, roaring as the lion, raging as the boar or as the rutting ass, etc. Some of the symbols are based on the nature of origin. The burning of fire through a process of churning is a symbolic ritual for coitus-play. Other ritual ceremonies may also be regarded as sex-symbols

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based on activity as *tertiam comparationis*. On the same principle are based certain mother-symbols, such as city, forest, ocean etc. They symbolise 'the mother', because they are the sources of life and its waters, shelter as well as all engulfing death. All myths centre round the mother, the sun and sea-symbols.

Jung puts it : "There, where the deep sources of the ocean are, the leviathan lives; from there the all-engulfing flood ascends, the all-engulfing flood of animal passion. That stifling, compressing feeling of the onward surging imuplse is projected mythologically as a flood which, rising up and over all, destroys all that exists, in order to allow a new and better creation to come forth from this destruction."[11]

In Indian Philosophy, a symbol (Pratīka) is a means to worship and spiritual communion. Hence in symbol-formation, it is the worshipper who changes his outlook from within and not the object. Śaṅkarācārya commenting on the opening text of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* gives a hint to some laws of symbol-formation. The above-mentioned Upaniṣad opens with finding out symbolic meaning of horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha). The horse in the sacrifice symbolises the cosmos itself, which is Kāla (Time). "The head of the sacrificial horse is the dawn; his eye is the sun; his breath is the wind; his open mouth is fire; his soul is the yearly cycle itself,[12] and so on till every part of the horse's body is made into a symbol of some cosmic reality. Here Śaṅkara tells us that the horse's head has been identified with dawn because it is the main part of his body and so is the dawn with which the day opens. The position in the body is the first cause of symbolic activity. The head symbolises the dawn because they are the same positionally. By means of this symbolism, we superimpose on the animal (Adhyāropa) the psycho-cosmic qualities. Śaṅkara tells us that the *superimposition* (Adhyāropa) consists in transformation

of the animal into cosmos, a finite object of sense into an infinite experience of mystic illumination. This is how, Śaṅkara tells us, we transform the icon into the Lord Viṣṇu.

How does the eye of the horse symbolise the sun? Firstly[14], because the sun is the god of eye. We may note here that sacrificial mysticism in India aims at *humanizing* the animal nature in man and *divinizing* the physical environments, so that we have a sense of being surrounded by the presence of living spirits rather of insensient objects. The sun is the causative source of eye and hence eye can symbolise the sun. Then the breath of the horse is wind, because they have exactly the same nature. Here symbolism is based upon deeper analogy of nature. So is the fire symbolised by open mouth[15]. The mouth, when open, is fire, as like fire it consumes everything. Fire is the god of mouth. In the same way, sometimes the number, at others action etc., are the cause of symbol-formation. Thus to sum up : *position*, *order of succession*, *origin*, *number*, *action* and *analogy* may be regarded as the causes of symbol-formation according to Śaṅkarācārya.

The purpose of Vedic symbolism is to think away the limits from our experience of the objects of sense. The finite is produced by the delimitation and determination of the Infinite. Circumscription of our own personality is the cause of all sorrow. Through symbolic worship the finetude of objects and self is thought away. All the myths are popular versions of the eternal history of struggle of the finite against the infinite, dark against light, and death against immortality. The same conception of struggle is continued into our Art and Literature. Hence we have opined that the religious symbolism of the Vedic age got transformed into the Mythological symbolism later, and mythologies themselves are the life-blood of all Art and Literature in India. The conclusion we arrive

at is that aesthetic symbolism here, when thought in its historical and cultural contexts, is based upon psycho-religious symbolism of India's sacred Literature. As we shall see a little later, our sculpture, iconography, and architecture, the temples and stūpas, all answer to mythological symbolism, with its foundation on the Vedic one.

We may, in conclusion, hint at colour-symbolism in Indian Art, which has not been worked out fully. Bharata in two couplets tells us that Viṣṇu is the presiding deity of Śṛṅgāra[16] whose colour is Śyāma. According to the methods of Vedic interpretation, the god (devatā) of a mantra, etc., is its meaning. From this view-point, Viṣṇu is the meaning of Śṛṅgāra whose colour-counterpart is Śyāma. How is Viṣṇu the meaning of erotic experience? Bharata goes on thus attaching each Rasa experience with a god. The presiding god of Laughter is Pramatha, of Rage is Rudra, of Pathos is Yama, of Repulse is Mahākāla, of Terror is Kāladeva, of Heroic is Mahendra and of Wonder is Brahmā himself. The remark here is not desultory or casual. Each god has a big mythological background. Perhaps by probing deep into the myths of each god we may be able to work out the full symbolism involved here.

S. 3 *Symbolism in Indian Art*

Besides the growth of symmetrical forms and increase in effect of mass and volume, Indian architecture has kept close to the development of religious consciousness in this country. Religion being the complete reaction of human personality, nothing bears its clearer stamp than massive structures of stupas and rock-cut temples of India. The beginning was made with Caitya or tumulus. It is a spherical shape of canopy originally supposed to be mounted on a grave. Later, it seems, a caitya became a place of meditation and prayer, associated with the

death of some great personage. In several places in the Upaniṣads, there is an indication that Death has inspired half of the Philosophy, if not more, and the whole of Religion. So it is conceivable that man commemorated death with massive architecture of a tumulus and later converted it into a sanctuary of prayer and meditation. It is also clear that man reconciled himself to the idea of death by reflecting on such ideas as Infinite, Eternal and Immortal. These are no pure intellectual concepts. They have a deep consoling value and seem to be inspired by contemplation of death. The spherical dome of a caitya bears a distinct reflection of the human craving to realise the Infinite and the Eternal. Through empathic induction man becomes the dome and thus absorbs his finite being in the Infinity of existence. A sphere is, it seems, the earliest stereometrical symbol of a deep religious experience.

In the earlier phase of Buddhism, a caitya developed into a stūpa[17]. A stūpa consists of three main parts—socle, cupola and crown. Socle is the square or circular base of the stūpa. Cupola is the bubble-shaped or bell-shaped structure. It is surmounted by 'Kiosk-or altar-like structure (Harmika)', or by a conical peak (Śikhara). The entire architectural growth from the earliest times has consisted in progressive accentuation and elaboration of these parts. The cube, the sphere and the cone are three stereometrical forms, each having a tremendous symbolic value. A. B. Govinda regards the cube, the cylinder and the sphere as 'the three essential forms'. His abstract[18] painting is founded on stereometrical symbolism. In concrete art, the emotional rhythm expresses itself in concrete forms which have some likeness to objective things. It does not imitate them, but materializes through them. In abstract art, this rhythm discovers and invents direct forms, which have no objective existence or are no imitations of

things. Music, e.g., expresses rhythm without objective imitation. So also the painting which does not consist of a descriptive portraiture is abstract and builds on direct forms.

Angarika B. Govind in interpreting his 'abstract painting' makes some valuable remarks about symbolism of the primordial geometrical forms. He says :

"If we relate these three stereometrical forms to the plane we shall find the following facts : the sphere touches the plane in a point, the cylinder in a (straight) line, the cube in a surface. This means from the standpoint of moveability that the sphere can move (roll) in *all* directions, the cylinder in *one* direction, the cube in *no* direction." And further : "Each of these fundamental forms can be projected to a point. In this way from the cube develops the *pyramid*, from the cylinder the cone, and from the sphere the spheric cone. Each of these secondary forms expresses the qualities of directedness and one-pointedness. There is something more definite, more aggressive (direction), more positive in these pointed forms. The relationship between cube and pyramid, cylinder and cone, sphere and spheric cone, is like that between female and male respectively.[19]"

Add to the 'male' and 'female' forms as described above the psychological effect of colours, such as green, blue and orange, on the one hand, and red and yellow, on the other, we have a complete basis for symbolic abstract art, which, without depending on portrayal or narrative, appeals to the mind and creates rhythm. The art of Stūpa is abstract and symbolic : these qualities being used to heighten the effect of volume, mass and symmetry on the human sensorium. Every development in its architecture has synchronised with profound philosophical changes in the religious attitude. The early Buddhism was 'anti-metaphysical, empirical and earth-drawn'. The emphasis, therefore, in the early structures rests on the square or round base symbolising the first sensuous contact of the spirit with the earth; the dome above it symbolised the universal spirit, humanity or freedom within law. The

square Harmika which crowned the dome indicated further the anti-metaphysical and earth-drawn character of Buddhism.

"The cube by virtue of its own inherent principle of resistance, inertia and heaviness deprives the spheric contour of its abstract or transcendental effect, just as the early Buddhists rejected transcendental problems and metaphysical speculations, contenting themselves with the empirical world."[20]

Symbolism becomes increasingly explicit in the later phases of Buddhism, which was profoundly influenced by emphasis on the universal and cosmic aspects of the universe by Hinduism and its psychological approach in the practical yoga. The stūpa began to symbolise the universe on the one hand and man on the other. It became truly a psycho-cosmic symbol representing the religious outlook of man of that time. Ạ. B. Govind brings out this fact as follows :

"The universality of the principle of enlightenment (bodhi) and boundlessness of the Enlightened One who has surpassed the limits of individuality, who is deep and immeasureable like the ocean,—this universality is expressed in the cosmic symbolism of the stūpa. Its main element, the cupola, in fact imitates the infinite dome of the all-embracing sky which includes both destruction and creation, death and rebirth. The early Buddhists expressed these principles by comparing the cupola of the stupa to the water-bubble and the egg (Anda) as the symbols of the latent creative power (as such anda was also a synonym for the universe in the oldest Indian Mythology), while the Kiosk or altar-like structure (Harmika) which rose on the summit of the cupola symbolised the sanctuary enthroned above the world, beyond death and rebirth. Nepalese stupas, which in many respects have preserved archaic features, decorate the harmika with painted human eyes, thus suggesting a human figure in the posture of meditation hidden in the stupa.... This also corresponds to the psycho-physiological doctrine of Cakras or centres of psychic force which are located one above the other in the human body and through which consciousness develops in ascending order from the experience of material sense-objects through that of the immaterial worlds of pure

mental objects, up to the supermundane consciousness (lokottara cittam) of enlightenment which has its base in the crown cakra of the head (Sahasrāra).[21]"

The early Buddhism being realistic, lays emphasis on the base and the dome which represent the sensuous experience and its regulation by limiting power of human laws. Later Buddhism has idealistic tendencies. From this develops transcendental and metaphysical symbolism. The Śikhara with Harmika, etc. is now important. In this change, both Buddhism and Vedic Hinduism (Gupta period) found a common ground and response. With the steady decline of Buddhism, the Hindu doctrine of trinity exercised a shaping influence on the Indian architecture. Gradually the stūpa structure was replaced by the temple. In fact, the temple of the Hindus is a continuation of the stūpa, only with a graft of the Hindu pantheon on it. The base, body and summit of the temple are the socle, cupola and crown of the stūpa, which are cubic, spheric and conic in forms respectively. There has been a good deal of elaboration in the structure of temples in India, but in its fundamental symbolic form it remains the same even to this day.

The structure of a temple represents Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva principles. Let us first take each one of them separately.

"Śiva is called the Yogin among the gods; he unites in himself asceticism and ecstasy, concentration and activity; he is the liberator, the destroyer of the world of illusion, the transformer, the creative principle (Liṅgaṁ) the potential force of the womb (therefore moon and water are its attributes).[22] "The stereometrical equivalent to Śiva is the hemi-spheric dome. "The hemisphere stands for the dark and motherly forces of the earth, the transforming power of death (and rebirth), the concentration of yoga and asceticism."[23]

"Viṣṇu represents the law, the direction in movement, the sun that rotates and moves in its prescribed course; he is preserver of life, the protector of the world, the illuminator, who rides in his sun-car

from horizon to horizon."[24] Cupola is related to the principle of Śiva, the Śikhara to that of Viṣṇu. In "the Orissa temples, the Sikhara is divided into five Bhūmis, which are sub-divided again into smaller strata : there are, for instance, five Rūpalokabhūmis, each of them sub-divided into three and more classes. These Bhūmis culminate in the Vedika, the sacred quadrangular enclosure (corresponding to the Harmika and the Vedic altar), which is crowned by the Amalaka or Amalasara, the pure Kernel, upon which the Amṛtakalaśa, the vessel with the water of immortality, is placed.[25]"

"The third great principle which partly overlaps the other two is the Brahma principle. Its main features are those of extension, unfoldment, birth, manifestation, materialization, universal expansion. In its expansive character it is not determined by one direction, like the Viṣṇu principle, but acts in all directions simultaneously. Its stereometrical equivalent is the cube." The cube is the base of the temple structure. "The south of India is mainly Śivaite and has preserved the dome as the crowning part of the temple. Upto the present day, the technical term for this dome or cupola is 'Stupi'. The North, however, which is more inclined towards Vasnuism, prefers the Śikhara. This fact proves that psychologically and symbolically the cupola is closer related to the principle of Śiva, the Śikhara to that of Viṣṇu.[26]"

The interpretation of India's religious architecture in terms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva principles is in strict conformity with the general outlook of Philosophy. The trinity pervades all spheres of life and thought. Time and again symbolism appears in different manifestations. Artistic reaction being total when it is true and sincere cannot help being symbolic. This is why we meet symbolism at every turn of aesthetic manifestations in arts. Religious architecture in particular, the temples and stūpas, are monuments of spiritual developments in successive ages.

After the period of classical symbolism, scholastic activity starts and the parts of the stūpa—socle, cupola and crown—are further developed, multiplied and defined in mental and cosmic terms. The Psycho-cosmology becomes elaborate and complete. The Stūpa now represents the spiritual structure of the Universe. Architecture be-

comes spiritual embodiment of universal life and ascension of the individual saint. The elegance of design and its delicacy are not native in origin. They are the elements of Persian art fused with our architecture. Also where we find the narrative element, it is not the growth of our soil. It is Hellenic in essence and origin. The original Indian architecture is simple, religious and symbolic.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD, FOR 1959.

For and on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, I present the report on the working of the Institute for the year ending 31st of March, 1959.

The year ending March, 1959 closed with a debit cash book balance of Rs. 20,447·69.

The Institute received with thanks the recurring grant of Rs. 5,000/- from the State Government. But this grant is not at all sufficient to advance the activities of the Institute. Our building is still incomplete. We, therefore, approached the State Government to increase the recurring grant and also to award a non-recurring grant in order to complete our building and equip the Library. We also approached the Union Government for grants. But our efforts were not successful and we had to leave the building incomplete.

The reputation of the Institute depends mainly on the output of research work done under it. But the time is so hard that no serious student wants to carry on research without any financial help. So we approached some other State Governments for the award of Research Scholarships. I am glad to inform the members that through the kindness of our member Dr. K. N. Katju, the Chief Minister of the Madhya Pradesh, we were promised a Research Scholarship of Rs. 100/- p. m. to be awarded to a resident of the Madhya Pradesh. Applications were invited through the Press. We received only one application which was forwarded to the Madhya Pradesh Government for necessary action.

The Institute was visited by Sri L. B. Shastri, Minister of Communication, Government of India who addressed the members and was pleased to remark that it was very creditable for the Institute to have done so much work to advance the cause of higher research in the field of Indology with its very limited resources. He promised to try his best to get donations for the Institute from generous donors. The other notable visitor was Sri H. N. Bahuguna, Deputy Minister, Industries, U. P. He was very much impressed by the achievements of the Institute and promised to do his best to get the grants of the Institute increased. His Holiness the Swami of the Bhandarkeri Mutt, Udipi, South India, delivered a very learned discourse on the Gita in Sanskrit. Dr. K. S. Krishnan delivered the annual address, which was very highly appreciated and encouraging for the Institute.

I may inform the members that all the printed books have been properly classified and index cards have been prepared. The Curator is now devoting his time in the proper classification of the manuscripts and preparing their classified Catalogue.

I am glad to inform the members that it has been possible to bring out Vol. XVI, Parts 3 & 4 of our Journal during the year. Volume XVII, Parts 1 & 2 is in the press.

The Institute continued to receive Research Journals and Periodicals as before in exchange. Most of the Books received for review have been added to the Library. Only a few new books could be purchased for want of funds.

The accounts of the Institute for the year under report were subjected to audit by the U. P. Government, Local Fund Audit Department. The audited balance sheet for the year 1958-59 is to be found attached to

this report which will show the financial position of the Institute.

We could not get any non-recurring grant or donations for the completion of our building. But as it was considered necessary to complete the front portion of the building, we had to take an overdraft from the State Bank and proceed with further construction of the building. But unfortunately, we had to stop the construction and hold up the Bills of the Contractors for want of more funds.

Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission kindly visited our Institute and was very much impressed with the activities of the Institute. The members of the Institute discussed the problem of the Institute and requested him to recommend for grants to the Institute. He made it clear that he was very much impressed with the work at the Institute and would have done his best to recommend to the Government to give financial help to the Institute. But he was sorry to say that unless the Institute got itself attached to some University, it was not possible for him to do so. Since then the Institute has been trying to get itself attached to the Allahabad University under its Amendment Act V(2)-ii.

The Institute suffered a great loss in the demise of its President, Dr. Bhagwan Das. However, we elected Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as our President in the vacancy and I am glad to say that Dr. S. Radhakrishnan kindly accepted our request to become the President of our Institute.

The total number of members during the year under review as compared with the strength of the previous years was as follows :—

1956-1957	..	132-70
1957-1958	.:	132-76
1958-1959	..	130-82

There were eight meetings of the Executive Committee. This is in brief, the report of the activities of the Institute for the year under review. The Institute needs financial help in every direction. It needs badly some addition to its staff, not only for guiding Research Scholars, but also for its day to day administration. As the Institute is growing, its needs are also increasing every day. However, some of our pressing needs are mentioned below :—

(1) The members are aware that the building is still incomplete. The main hall, the under-ground hall, and the rooms in the first floor, are still to be constructed at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,85,000.

(2) It is known to the members that collection of Manuscripts is not so difficult as their preservation. So we require very badly at least 20 Godrej Shelves to arrange them properly and protect them against heat and dust.

(3) Manuscripts, particularly palm-leaf ones, are being destroyed as they grow older and older. There are several manuscripts in the Institute which require immediate attention. They may be either copied out afresh, or their Photo-stet copies may be taken, or each leaf of the important manuscripts may be placed under a special cover of butter paper as is done in some other Institutions. Otherwise, I am afraid, they may be lost for ever.

(4) In order to maintain the dignity of the Institute an attractive surrounding with properly laid out lawns and garden is very necessary. Members are aware that there is a great scarcity of water in this park and all our plants and flowers suffer a good deal for want of sufficient water. So we need very badly a tube-well with an electric pump.

(5) I may draw the attention of the members to the fact that we have now as our assests in the form of the Institute with all its buildings and other contents worth several lakhs. All this is left throughout the night and the morning in charge of a single chowkidar which is not

quite safe. Perhaps there is no Institute of this kind which has no quarter adjacent to its building for its Librarian or Curator as the case may be. It is also very necessary that the quarters for the lower staff may also be constructed. They have to remain in sun and rain without any shelter, while their presence in the Institute, both in the day and night, is very essential for the protection of the Institute.

(6) At least a sum of Rs. 25,000 is badly required for equipping the library with books and modern research publications including periodicals. Research scholars not only from Allahabad University, but also from other places visit our Institute for consulting books and journals and proper guidance. Apart from the individual attention paid to their needs, an up-to-date library containing all the latest works on Indology is a great desideratum.

The name and the fame of a research institute depend upon the work done by its Research Scholars. It is a fact which cannot be denied that no Research work can be undertaken, particularly these days, unless suitable scholarship is awarded and the research work done by the scholars is properly recognised. As far as Sanskrit education is concerned, we know that never scholarship has flourished without any kind of patronage. Unfortunately, our Institute has neither any Researh scholarships, nor any suitable method of getting their work properly recognised at present. It is, therefore, very necessary that immediate steps be taken to get the Research work done at the Institute recognised by some University and efforts be made to get scholarships for Research scholars.

We have several schemes to be worked out with the help of qualified Research Scholars, such as preparation of

(1) A Chronology of works and authors of Sanskrit Literature;

(2) A Critical bibliography of all the research done so far on Indology;

(3) A Critical History of Sanskrit Literature and similar other projects.

As the work of the Institute is gradually expanding it is necessary to appoint a few research fellows, at least one, to assist the Secretary in the editing of the Journal and other publications to be undertaken by the Institute and also to assist Research scholars who come to the Institute for guidance.

All these need financial help. We have tried our best to get donations from private sources, but there is no response. The only source left to us is the grants which the Union Government or the State Government may give. We are trying our best to convince the Governments of our needs and for the proper equipment of the Institute in order that it may be an Institution worthy of this ancient and holy city.

With these words, I submit this report for your consideration.

UMESHA MISHRA
Secretary.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1958-59.

Sl. No.	Particulars of Receipts	Actuals from 1st of April '58 to 31st of March '59	Budget Estimates	Sl. No.	Particulars of Charges	Actuals from 1st of April '58 to 31st of March '59	Budget Estimates
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.			Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
1.	Annual membership ..	779 00	840 00	1.	Office Establishment ..	7,304 00	6,850 00
2.	Sales A/c ..	639 00	500 00	2.	Scholarship ..	1,200 00	840 00
3.	Interest on investments	4,177 00	4,000 00	3.	Postage	251 00	200 00
4.	Recurring Govt. Grant	5,000 00	5,000 00	4.	Office contingencies ..	1,254 00	900 00
5.	Misellaneous Receipt ..	214 00	400 00	5.	Interest on overdraft ..	715 00	750 00
				6.	Printing of Journals ..	3,531 00	1,200 00
				7.	Building Construction ..	8,472 00	..
	Total	10,809 00	10,740 00		Total	22,727 00	10,740 00

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1958—1959—(*concld.*)

Sl. No.	Particulars of Receipt	Actuals from 1st of April '58 to 31st of March 1959	Budget Estimates	Sl. No.	Particulars of Charges	Actuals from 1st of April '58 to 31st of March 1959	Budget Estimates
		Rs. nP.				Rs. nP.	
					Investments :—		
	Opening balance on 1-4-'58 ..	8,318 32			National Saving Certificates	1,500 00	
	Income during the year	10,809 33			Security deposit with U. P. E. Co. ..	180 00	
		2,491 01			Securities ..	1,39,600 00	
	Expenditure during the year ..	22,938 70			N. P. S. C. ..	2,175 00	
		20,447 69					
	Bank balance ..	19,023 93					
	Difference due to uncashed cheques 1,423·74, Due to conversion ·02	1,423 76			Total	1,43,455 00	

K. M. LAL,
Treasurer

UMESHA MISHRA,
Secretary.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE ṚGVEDA—A fresh interpretation, Part II (R.V. g. 16—50), by S. S. Bhawe. Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. pp. x : 152. Price Rs. 5·50.

It is really a puzzle that although the Vedas are the earliest works on Indian spiritual thought, no systematic commentary on them has come down to us until we come to Sāyaṇa. Prior to him Srī Madhvācārya wrote a commentary on the *ṚgVeda*. But it is only for a small portion. Sāyaṇa's is, therefore, the only earliest commentary that has now come down to us and is accepted by the orthodox section. In recent years some western scholars have also interpreted the Vedas based on philological principles. But it must be conceded that they had the benefit of Sāyaṇa's work.

Dr. S. S. Bhawe has now taken up the arduous task of giving a fresh interpretation to the *ṚgVeda* and to start with he has chosen the 9th Maṇḍala. The present work is the second part containing the translation and critical notes on Sūktas 16—50 of the 9th Maṇḍala. It is the critical notes that matters in this book and gives importance to it. Admittedly the author had before him the various interpretations of earlier writers and in his notes he makes a comparative estimate of their views and where he differs from them he offers explanations in support of his view. While arriving at the meaning of words, the author does not confine himself to the particular context where the word occurs but takes into consideration other contexts where the same word occurs. The author thus combines wide acquaintance with Vedic literature and a clear aptitude

for critical study. This book will be useful for those who are interested in Vedic studies.

The notes contain critical discussions about several Sanskrit words which are found in the original Vedic text. But as this book does not contain the original text for ready reference along with the translation, the reader is handicapped. The book would be self-contained if the text of the Vedic hymns is also included along with the translation.

V. Hanumanthachar

THE HISTORY OF ORISSA, VOLS. 1 AND 2, by Dr. Harekrishna Mahtab : Published by Prajatantra Prachar Samiti, Cuttack. Vol. 1, Pp. x: 380. Price Rs. 12.50. Vol. 2, Pp. vi : 381—538. Price Rs. 7.50.

In two volumes, the present work traces the history of Orissa from pre-historic age up to its present day when Orissa has become a separate State in the Indian Union. Interesting account is given about the royal families who ruled over this territory, namely, Nanda, Maurya, Chedi, Kushan, Gupta, Māṭhara, Vaśiṣṭha, Mudgala, Śailodbhava, Gaṅgā, Kara, Tunga, Bhanja, Soma, Bhoi, Chālukya, Afghan, Mughal and the British. Details regarding the early period are collected from different sources, such as, Vedic literature, Purāṇas, Buddhist and Jain literature, Stone inscriptions, Copper-plate-grants and other unpublished records to which the author had access, and when the author comes to the later period, he is on surer ground. He has shown how Orissa was subjected to frequent wars of conquest and how it changed hands from one dynasty to another until, at last, it passed into the hands of the British who finally had to quit India in 1947.

Without confining himself to the political aspect of the history, the author has traced the development of art,

architecture and painting in Orissa during different periods. As some of the rulers of Orissa ruled over the neighbouring states also, this history would supply some of the missing links in the history of those States. Appendix 1 gives a lengthy sketch of the Khurda Raj family from 1568 to 1960. Appendix 2 deals with the integration of States with Orissa and Appendix 3 is about the August movement and after, describing the part taken by each district in Orissa in the struggle for independence. This would be found useful to the students of modern Indian History. Appendix 4 about the "Cult of Jagannātha" has an interesting discussion about the origin of the Jagannātha Cult and the identity of God Jagannātha worshipped at Puri in Orissa, besides a general survey of other religions which were introduced into Orissa at different periods.

The book is, on the whole a substantial contribution to the historical studies of Orissa. The students of Indian History should feel much indebted to the learned author for his valuable publication. The several misprints that have crept into this book unnoticed could have been avoided.

V. Hanumanthachar

THE HITOPADESA AND ITS SOURCES, by Ludwik Sternbach : Published by American Oriental Society; New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A., 1960 : Pp. xiv : 109.

The *Hitopadeśa* as a book of moral lessons by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita is very widely read in India, contents of which have been rendered into several Indian languages. Selections from this book are often prescribed as text-books for high school students. Although it has been a very

popular book all these years, Indian scholars have not bestowed serious thought about its structure, sources, etc. This work has now been accomplished by the present writer. For purposes of this study the author has made use of eight editions of the *Hitopadeśa* with F. Johnson edition as the basic text and has come to the conclusion that the text of the *Hitopadeśa*, as we now have it, has borrowed from various similar works, such as *Pañcatantra*, *Vṛddha Cāṇakya*, *Laghucāṇakya*, *Cāṇakya-rājanitisāra*, *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Cāṇakyanīti-śāstra*, *Dharma-śāstra*, etc. The author has written a critical introduction to the work, wherein he states that 56 out of 71 motifs of tales, and 70 per cent of the 786 stanzas were borrowed from other sources leaving only 20 per cent of motifs and 30 per cent of the stanzas to the original *Hitopadeśa*. The results of his investigati on, the author has recorded in the form of six tabular statements with care and patience which he alon.e could command, indicating what portions of the *Hitopadeśa* were borrowed from which source. We only fear that these statements are so crowded with figures and abbreviations that they would baffle the understanding of a reader of an average intelligence and patience and one would make very little out of them unless he has got for ready reference all the editions of books referred to by the author. A text of the *Hitopadeśa* acceptable to him printed in different types, one for portions which are definitely known to have been borrowed from other sources and another for the original text, with suitable footnotes indicating the sources, etc., would have, perhaps, simplified the work. But there is no doubt that the minute details furnished by the author reveal his close intimacy with various works on Nīti-śāstra and the thoroughness with which he has gone through the entire work.

V. Hanumanthachar

LE GĪTĀLAMKĀRA OF BHARATA. Edited by Alain Danielou and N. R. Bhat. pp.: xxxiv : 232 : Published by Institute Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery : 1959.

Our ancient Śāstrakāras have laid down that Mokṣa or liberation from the cycle of births and deaths is the highest aim of life and every Śāstra as such should lead its follower to the attainment of this goal. Viewed in this light Saṅgīta-śāstra can be said to stand on par with the other Mokṣa-śāstras. As the author of the work states, Saṅgīta is "dharmārtha-Kāmamokṣāṇām Sādhanam".

"नारदः पर्वतो रेम्यो गन्धर्वौ च हा हा हु हू ।
एते गीताद्गता मोक्षं तथान्ये जनकादयः ॥"

Even from the point of utility, Saṅgīta has wide scope. But Saṅgīta-śāstra, unfortunately, does not receive as much attention of our scholars as it deserves. It is commendable that the present editors have taken up this Śāstra as a subject of their study and research. Alain Danielou is an ardent scholar of the science of music and the present edition is one of the products of his continuous studies on this subject. N. R. Bhat is a scholar with a long back-ground in examining and editing manuscripts. The present work, *Gitālaṅkāra*, contains fifteen chapters, dealing respectively with the gītalakṣaṇa, kaṇtha śuddhi, gīta doṣa, svaralakṣaṇa, grāmalakṣaṇa, mūrchanā lakṣaṇa, tānalakṣaṇa, mātrālakṣaṇa, layalakṣaṇa, sthānalakṣaṇa, yatilakṣaṇa, Āsyalakṣaṇa, rasalakṣaṇa, Varṇalakṣaṇa, and Bhāṣālakṣaṇa with translation in French for each verse.

It will be interesting to note that India, which is one culturally and geographically from time immemorial, had as many as fortytwo languages which are mentioned in the chapter on Bhāṣālakṣaṇa. In the introduction special attention is drawn to the characteristics of tāna, tāla, yati, grāma, Svara, Varṇa, Bhāṣā. The copious foot-notes containing extracts from other works on Saṅgīta add to the

value of the work. The book is well edited and neatly printed. The editors are to be congratulated for bringing out this classic on the science of music.

V. Hanumanthachar

NAVANALANDA MAHĀVIHĀRA RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, VOL. 1. Edited by Dr. Satkari Mookerjee: pp. X: 397 : 71 Pub. by Navanalanda Mahāvihāra, Nalanda: 1957.

This volume is a collection of six articles contributed by different writers. The first article by Dr. S. Mookerjee contains four chapters. The first chapter on the Mādhyamika logical position in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, gives a free rendering of the monograph *Vigrahavyāvartanī* of Nāgārjuna. According to Nāgārjuna anything that is subject to the law of causation has no intrinsic reality. The phenominal world being a product of some cause is not real. As against this, the logician points out that the very logical apparatus employed by the sceptic being a product of a cause and hence unreal by itself cannot establish the unreality of the phenomenal world. The reply to this charge of the logician is the purport of this short treatise. The defence by Candrakīrti of Nāgārjuna's assertion in the *Mūlamādhyamika-kārikā* that no entity can be said to be produced by a cause forms the subject of the second chapter and the third chapter deals with Śrīharṣa's exposition of the Mādhyamika position in logic. The fourth in four sections is devoted to the exposition of the Buddhist and Vedāntic standpoints. In the 2nd section of this chapter—Buddhist philosophy and Vedānta—a Comparison and Contrast—the author explains that the Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamikas, means the doctrine of Voidity of all things and that the Śūnyavādins do not believe that consciousness

is the ultimate principle. But there are others who hold quite a different view. They explain that according to the Śūnyavādins Śūnya does not mean "Void" : it means, on the other hand, "devoid"—so far as appearances are concerned "of ultimate reality" and so far as Reality is concerned "of plurality" and that "the divine nature of the Absolute Reality is not unreal". In the same section the author suggests a defence against the realist's charge that the Vedāntist is a Buddhist in disguise and says that "in philosophy there may be many points of contact between one school and the other. But that does not annul their individuality. . . . . If a point of agreement is magnified to the extent of merger of identity, all schools of philosophy would have to be lumped into one school". But the realist would naturally turn round and retort that the point of contact is not with regard to trivials; it is in regard to the very ultimate reality which gives the distinguishing character to the system. The difference between the two that is sought to be made out is one without distinction. For 'Śūnya', according to the Śūnyavādin, does not mean a 'nothing'; it essentially means "Indescribable", i.e., *Anirvācya* or *Anabhilāpya*. He says that the "Absolute itself through ignorance appears as this manifold world of phenomena—and consciousness, on account of ignorance appears as finite intellects" This is exactly what the Vedāntin also says. The 'Anirvacanīyatā of the Vedāntin in its final analysis is reduced to the same status as the 'Śūnyatā' of the Mādhyamikas and the ultimate reality—Brahman—of the Vedāntin is, in essence, not different from the Absolute of the Mādhyamika. Therefore, the charge that the Vedāntin is a Buddhist in disguise is inescapable; neither is it malicious nor sarcastic. It is a bare statement of fact and need not cause resentment. This thesis, on the whole, is very enlightening. The intricacies of logical propositions are smoothened and the view-points of the

two opposing schools are set forth clearly in a dignified language.

The second article on the *Paticcasamuppāda*, by Dr. N. Tatia, deals with the theory of causation in Pali Buddhism in all its aspects and it is very interesting and scholarly. The third article by Dr. B. Jinananda makes a comparative study of the *Mahāvastu* which is an important Buddhist Sanskrit work which throws a good deal of light on the different branches of early Buddhist literature with the Pali *Mahāvagga* of the Theravada Vinaya. The problem as to whether the absolute is immanent in humanity or trancends humanity has divided Indian Mahāyānism into the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavādin and the Mādhyamika itself into the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika. The fourth article by Sri Y. Kajiyama explains the view-point of the Svātantrikas. The dependability of the Pāṇinian system of grammar for correct knowledge and linguistic usage as accepted by Kumārila is the subject of the fifth article, by Sri T. Venkatacharya. The last article gives a free rendering of Vasubandhu's *Vijñptimātratā-Siddhi-Vimśatikā* by Dr. Sitamsusekhara Bagchi. This article shows the depth of the writer's knowledge in Buddhist philosophy.

The authors of the respective articles have done full justice to the subject of their choice and have clearly brought out the salient features of one of the oldest systems of Indian thought which withstood for centuries the powerful onslaught of other Indian systems of philosophy and exercised great influence on Indian society.

V. Hanumanthachar

THE NAṬKAKALAKṢAṆARATNAKOŚA OF SĀGARANANDIN. Translated by Myles Dillon, Murray Fowler and V. Raghavan. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series Volume 50, Part 9. The American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, Philadelphia 6 Nov. 1960. Pages 74 Price $. 2·00.

The Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa is a treatise on the Hindu dramaturgy by Sāgaranandin and as the title suggests it is a collection of views on the dramatic theory and art not only of the author but of several other writers on the subject which reveal the existence of vast literatures on the science of drama before Sāgaranandin. Beginning with the definition of Nāṭaka as an imitation of things done in a former time by gods and others, the author deals next with the nature of the various dramatic elements such as Itivṛttta and its five stages, the dialects used by different characters, Praveśaka. Viṣkambhaka, Vritti, Lakṣaṇa, Alankāra. Rasa etc., in detail. The illustrations are taken from several dramas most of which are not available now. The text of the Nāṭakalakṣanaratnakośa was edited by Myles Dillon in 1937.

The book under notice is the English translation of the Sanskrit original by three eminent scholars. Editing of books based on single manuscript is not always an easy job. But the learned editors of this book have spared no pains in perfecting the text as far as possible and placing before the readers an accurate and lucid English translation of the same. A short but critical introduction, critical notes, an index to the plays and authors cited by the author and a list of corrections and emerdations to the text are the exclusive contribution of V. Raghavan to this edition under notice. In his introduction V. Raghavan has given a critical estimate of this work and the author; Sāgaranandin. In fixing the date of Sāgaranandin he states that although

there are parallels between Bhoja's Śṛngāra prakāśa and Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa, it is not possible to say who borrowed from whom. But he is not prepared to take Sāgaranandin before Dhananjaya, Bhoja, and Abhinavagupta and is not willing to place him after Sāradatanaya. As a compromise he fixes his date not earlier than the thirteenth century, between Bhoja and Abhinavagupta and Sāradātanaya.

We congratulate the American Philosophical Society for bringing out this important book which throws a fund of light on the science of Hindu drama and dramatic literature.

V. Hanumanthachar

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE VOLUME VI—The Delhi Sultanate. Edited by R. C. Majumdar. Assisted by A. D. Pusalker and A. K. Majumdar with a foreword by K. M. Munshi. Pages XXXVIII, 882; 4 maps : 46 Plates with 72 figures : Published by. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay; 1960 Price Rs. 35.

This volume is prepared on the same model and according to the same plan as the previous five volumes of this series and deals with the political and cultural history of India covering the period from 1290 A. D. to 1531 A. D. i.e. from the accession of Jalal-ud-din Firūz Shāh in 1290 to the end of the reign of Mahamūd Shāh II. The political history of this period is one of intrigues for the throne of Delhi and of wars of Delhi Sultans with Hindu kings for expansion. The rise and fall of the Khalji, Tughluq, Sayyid and Lodi dynasties who ruled at Delhi the Succession States of the Delhi Sultanate, the origin and dissolution of the Bhāmini Kingdom, history of the Vijayanagara kingdom

from its foundation under Harihara to the end of the reign of Krishna deva Raya, and the history of the independent states—the Rajput States, Orissa, Kashmir etc. form the main themes of the political history of this period. Among the Khaljis, Ala-ud-din Khalji was most powerful and ambitious. He was constantly at war with Hindu kings and invaded South India as far as Devagiri and Warrangal. Similarly Muhammad Bin Tughluq was most powerful among the Tughluqs and his authority was acknowledged over a great part of India. The Sayyids and Lodis who came next to the throne of Delhi were also involved in frequent wars but they could not make much headway towards South.

Among the Hindu States mention may be made of the Vijayanagara kingdom. It was the bulwark of Hinduism in South India against the attacks of Bhāmini Sultans. It was under the Vijayanagara kings that Sāyanācarya wrote his commentaries to the Ved as and the great philosophers like Vidyāraṇya, Vyāsarāya etc. flourished. It was under these kings that great many works in Telugu and Kannada were written. It is not an exaggeration that Hindu Culture in South India especially, would not be what it is to-day but for the Vijayanagara empire, and it is rightly called by a historian as "the never-to-be forgotten empire." Mithila played a simiiar part in the North.

The contributors of articles are all specialists in their respective subjects and have given independent and unbiased account of their subject taking into consideration the relevant circumstances. For instance with regard to the episode of Padmini of Chittor which has gained currency in history, the present author says that it is impossible at the present state of our knowledge to regard it definitely as a historical fact (P. 27). Again, as against the Firista's account that Devaraja I of Vijayanagara agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah as one of the conditions

of treaty, the present author of the article opines that "in the absence of corroborative evidence of a more trustworthy character one would also hesitate to believe that Devaraja offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah." (P. 285) The reader will come across with several such instances where the present writers rightly differ from the views of earlier writers.

The Cultural history—Chapters XIV—XIX. is described under five divisions e.g. Islamic political Theory, Administrative organisation, Law and Legal Institutions 2. Language and Literature which includes Sanskrit ii. Sanskritic iii. Dravidian (iv) Arabic and (v) Persian; 3. Religion: 4 Social Life—Hindu and Muslim and 5. Economic conditions. Although the country was subject to frequent wars there were contributions to every branch of literature during this period as sketched in this volume in broad outlines. In every respect this volume is on par with the previous volumes. We eagerly await the publication of the remaining volumes.

V. Hanumanthachar

THE SPERENT POWER. By Arthur Awalon (Sir John Woodroffe) pp. XVI : 529 : 184 pp. 17. Published by Ganesh & Co. Madras 17. 6th Ed. 1958. Price Rs. 25/-.

Pure Consciousness (Cit, Samavit) is the ultimate reality (Śiva) and His power (Śakti) in Her formless state is one with Him. She is the mother of the universe. From this Śakti proceed Mind and Matter. The Consciousness which is embodied in Mind and Matter is Jivātma. Pure Consciousness is formless and it is with form when it becomes embodied in Mind and Matter. Human body contains six bodily centres or Cakras namely Mūlādhāra, Svādhis-

tana, Maṇipūra, Anāhata, Visuddha and Ājna, beginning from the lowest centre at the base of the spine to the highest brain centre. In the human body the Power of Consciousness (Śakti) occupies the lowest centre at the spinal column. There Her form is that of a coiled and sleeping serpent, Hence the term Kuṇdalini. By following certain specified yogic practices She is roused and breaking through the several Cakras She is made to come into union with Pure Consciousness. This is what is known as Kundalini yoga, which is the final goal sought to be achieved by this system. It is at this stage that Jivātma realises his one-ness with Pure-Consciousness. This is, in nut-shell what this science teaches.

The volume under review contains two Sanskrit texts. Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa in eight sections which forms the sixth Chapter in a bigger book Sri Tattva Cintāmani by Pūrnānanda Svāmı with ṭika by Śankara and a Vivṛti by Visvanātha and (2) Pādukā pañcaka revealed by Śiva. With a ṭikā by Kāliċaraṇa. The first gives a detailed description of the six bodily centres and the second deals with only one of them. Arthur Avalon has given the two texts in Roman characters and an English translation of the texts and their Commentaries. His introduction is scholarly and brings-out clearly and in great detail the conception of Kuṇdaliniyoga which means the merging of the phenominal world with the ultimate reality. A large section of people follow the Tantric principle and the fact that this work has run into sixth edition shows its wide popularity. The printing and get up are attractive.

V. Hanumanthachar.

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